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The Negro in our society faces disabilities and disadvantages that apply with particular force to his housing, employment and health. It is necessary to understand the Negroes' position in relation to a comprehensive program to improve social conditions for all citizens of Boston.

The first part of the study is concerned with the historical background of the Negro community in Boston, considering the historical period (1638-1830), the period of integration (1830-1915), the period of decline (1915-1933), and the contemporary period (1933 to present). The second part of the report discribes housing and mobility of the Negro population. Part three describes programs in the schools and churches, in addition to the Muslim movement.

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ACTION

FOR

BOSTON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

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THE NEGRO IN BOSTON
by
Rheable M. Edwards, M.A. and M.S. in S.S.
and
Laura B. Morris, M.S.W.
with an historical background by
Robert M. Coard, M.A.

ACTION FOR BOSTON COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

FOREWORD

This paper is part of a broader study of social aspects of urban renewal in Boston. It was considered important to prepare this paper on the Negro in Boston for several reasons. Boston's Negro residents are concentrated in the South End, Roxbury and North Dorchester. These districts are scheduled for early action in the renewal program and a significant portion of the city's Negro population will soon be involved in and affected by that program.

A more fundamental reason, however, stems from the fact that the Negro in our society faces disabilities and disadvantages that apply with particular force to his housing, employment and health. A fuller understanding of the Negro's past and present situation in Boston is a prerequisite for facing those problems today as Boston designs a comprehensive program to improve social conditions for all its citizens.

Until the 1940's Boston's Negro community had been small in number and small in proportion to the total population of the city. Moreover, Negro-white relations have been at least on the surface more harmonious than race relations in many other American cities. These observations may explain, in part, why so little information and research on the Negro in Boston was available when it was decided to undertake this study.

As a consequence it was necessary within an extremely limited period, to attempt to prepare for the first time a comprehensive statement on the Boston Negro community. It has not been possible, of course, to achieve that goal. What is contained in these pages provides a beginning and a framework. Much material that would have required extended research has had to be left for future studies.

The paper begins with the historical background of the Negro community in Boston, goes on to deal with the housing and employment situation and concludes with material on the Negro church, education and health.

Among the many aspects of the Negro community that could not be adequately considered in this study are the press and politics, family life and recreational patterns and opportunities. The writers had hoped that there could be a final chapter that would describe the "community spirit" of Roxbury -- the aspirations and interests, the social organization and fabric of the Negro community. This is perhaps the most significant piece that is missing from the picture presented here.

Two other papers in this ABCD series of special studies supplement and complement this paper. They are "A Preliminary Exploration of Social Conditions and Needs in the Roxbury-North Dorchester GNRP" by Whitney M. Young, Jr., and "The Discarded Suburbs - Roxbury and North Dorchester 1800-1950" by Sam B. Warner, Jr.

Because of the limited time available for the writing of this paper, it was necessary to bring together more experts than was the case with the other studies in this series. As chairman of an advisory group, Dr. Adelaide Hill of the African Studies Program of Boston University developed the broad outlines for the paper. The writers collaborated in outlining the material which was to be treated. The advisory group met several times to review the progress of the work. Although this has been a collaborative effort, each writer is responsible only for his own contribution.

Together with Dr. Hill, the other members of the advisory group were Dr. Morton Rubin of the Sociology Department of Northeastern University and Dr. Sam Warner, Jr., of the History Department of Harvard University.

November, 1961

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PART I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN BOSTON

The Historical Period (1638-1830)
The Period of Integration (1830-1915)
The Period of Decline (1915-1933)
The Contemporary Period (1933 to the present)

Robert M. Coard, M.A.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE NEGRO COMMUNITY IN BOSTON

by

Robert M. Coard

Because it is old and because it has played a special role in the history of this country, Boston is in many ways the most interesting and complex of American cities. One writer could only describe it as a "state of mind". In no aspect of its being is Boston more typical in its own behavior, or more unique in comparison to other American cities than in the field of race relations. In Boston the state of mind or climate of opinion has always stood for independence, freedom, and justice. The facts of the day, however, have often fallen far short of this ideal.

So strong has this image of a freedom and liberty-loving Boston been that little if any curiosity has been exercised to examine the true situation. Indeed, compared with many other large communities in the North, the relations between whites and Negroes in Boston have been remarkably free of tension and overt conflict. The explanations for this relate to the circumstances of living in Boston, the values of Bostonians and the size and composition of the Boston community.

Boston is probably the only city in the United States where large, vigorous ethnic communities thrive in various sections of the city, for two and even three generations beyond initial immigrant settlement. When one mentions East Boston, Italians come to mind; when one thinks of South Boston and Charlestown, Irish do; the Back Bay suggests Yankees; Mattapan, Jews; and more and more Roxbury has come to mean Negroes. In fact Boston is second only to New York in the proportion of its population which is foreign-born: 18 per cent are white foreign-born. Together, the foreign-born and their children constitute

51.9 per cent of the city's residents. In addition an undetermined number of Boston residents are new to the city, having come from other parts of the United States. Two-thirds of the Negro population for instance is not Boston-born. Boston in spite of the strength of tradition is actually a young and yet ever changing polyglot city.

In her metropolitan status and her relationship to the state, Boston is also unique. Most large American cities encompass about two thirds of their metropolitan areas. Boston, on the contrary, forms only one-third of its metropolitan area. It has less than 700,000 people of a metropolitan population of over 2,500,000 which live in 80 fiercely independent cities and towns all within a 25-mile radius of Boston. Within this metropolitan complex is concentrated 55 per cent of the state's total population.

The town of Boston is almost a meaningless entity because Boston has become a cluster of districts, each of which has a special character and process of development. Many of these districts, now politically part of the City of Boston, developed originally as separate townships for over 200 years before merging with Boston in the late 19th century. The growth of many of these communities, both within and without the city limits, has been stimulated by the desire of Boston citizens, initially of the middle and upper classes, later of the lower-income groups, to seek better homes and neighborhoods outside of downtown Boston.

This outward movement from Boston's center, first to the inner city suburbs, then further outward to independent suburban communities, has been going on for more than fifty years. During the last decade alone, Boston lost an unprecedented 15 per cent of her population to the suburbs. This retreat from the city has left a core community that is Boston proper, a core which is the home of the older, the destitute and the less advantaged of many ethnic groups. The core is politically Democratic, and contains but a small number of the well-to-do, primarily families of Yankee stock. This core community is surrounded by suburbs which vary in their political and social flavor according to the economic conditions and ethnicity of their inhabitants.

The traditions of Boston, its ethnic and religious grouping, and its relation to these surrounding communities together form the backdrop for an understanding of the city's current problems and the necessary basis for future planning. No analysis of the city and its people can ignore the peculiar spirit of Boston which helps to mould all of its inhabitants - foreign or native born, black or white, Northern or Southern - into her unique matrix.

In Boston the Negro community is the oldest non-Yankee group and throughout its three-hundred year history has reflected the spirit and soul of the city almost as faithfully as any other proper Bostonian.[1] Negroes have shown a remarkable adherence to the Brahmin values such as pride in local origin, the importance of lineage, a superiority toward outsiders, and political and social conservatism. And well they might.

Negro heroes are interwoven into the very fabric of Boston and American Revolutionary history. A monument to Crispus Attucks, a Negro and leader of the Americans shot at the time of the Boston Massacre of 1770, stands on the Boston Common. The Bunker Hill monument contains the "musket of Peter Salem, a colored man who during the battle of Breed's Hill (Bunker Hill) shot and killed the

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[1] Hill, Adelaide "The Negro Upper Class in Boston, Its Development and Present Social Structure", unpublished PhD. thesis, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, 1952, p. 337.

British commanding officer, Major Pitcairn". Prince Hall, founder of the United States Freemasonary that bears his name is buried in the famous Copps Hill Burial Ground. Many other unsung Negro heroes played a vital role in the painful transition of Boston and America from colony to a free and independent republic. The Boston Negro like the Yankee has always considered himself a Bostonian first, though this attitude may now be undergoing some change.

In spite of the absence of a slave tradition, and notwithstanding its concern for freedom and its role in the movement for the abolition of slavery, Boston has through the years subjected its Negro citizens to economic, political and social limitations. These limitations varied in form and intensity, and were always by-products of the major social, economic and political forces of the day. To understand the position of the Negro in Boston through the years, and to compare the situation of this Negro community with that of others, one might usefully view it as falling into four distinct developmental stages:

1. The Historical Period from 1638 to 1830 - 1638, the date of the first mention of Negroes living in Boston to 1830, the date of the publication of the Liberator.
2. The Period of Integration from 1830 to the First World War. This period may be further divided by the Civil War into The Stage of Protest and The Stage of Florescence.
3. The Period of Decline from about 1915 to 1933 or from World War I to the Depression.
4. The Contemporary Period from 1933 to the present which can also be subdivided into the periods before and after World War II.

The Historical Period

Early Boston, according to Oscar Handlin, was substantially a "town of small traders, of petty artisans and handicraftsmen, and of great merchant princes who built fortunes out of their enterprise, intelligence and frugality ... industrially there seemed little to look forward to ... the field of handicrafts was limited ... and the prospects of the agricultural environs ... were meagre indeed". It was a community essentially homogeneous in its racial stock and religious persuasion. Negroes in Boston of this period were a numerically small, socially homogeneous, politically insignificant, and economically marginal group living in the North and West Ends and in other scattered sections of the city. Though there is no evidence of conflict, the early reference to the West End as "Nigger Hill", the need in 1798, of Negroes to organize a school to educate their children, and their need to start their own church in 1805, all indicate the familiar separatism between the races. Nevertheless, during this period, because of its recognition of its marginal position in Boston the Negro community as such began to emerge.

The Period of Integration 1830-1915

A. Stage of Protest.

The launching in Boston in 1830 of the Liberator, the abolitionist newspaper edited by William Lloyd Garrison, can be considered the beginning of the Stage of Protest. It was a protest on an integrated basis. For although the initiative was taken by prominent and dedicated white men in public life like Garrison, Sumner and Channing, Boston Negroes like Lewis Hayden, William C. Nell and John Jay Smith made their voices heard in the gigantic struggle to abolish human bondage in the United States. This was an era of protest in the Negro's history in Boston, and also perhaps the period when the Yankee saw his own relatively recently fought battle for independence as intimately tied into the Negro slave's desire for freedom. Boston too more than any other city was the symbol of America's dedication to this cause of freedom.

At this time the small Boston Negro population was concentrated for the most part in the West End in the shadow of the State House, and behind the stately homes of Beacon Hill. Here for a brief period physical proximity meant relative social proximity between the races. There was, however, a small but steady increase in the Negro population from the South. Many of these newcomers were runaway slaves helped to escape by the Underground Railroad.

With the coming of the Civil War, Boston revealed its deep identification with the issues of the battle when the young Yankee colonel Robert Gould Shaw was cheered as he marched out of the city at the head of the Massachusetts 54th Regiment, the first regiment of Negro troops commissioned to fight in the United States army. Shaw died in battle and was buried with many of his soldiers after the bloody encounter at Fort Wagner, South Carolina. A statue dedicated to him and his heroic soldiers today stands prominently on the edge of the Boston Common directly opposite the State House.

B. Stage of Florescence

Immediately after the Civil War, the Negro in Boston seemed on his way to achieving full citizenship. This period may be described as the Stage of Florescence. Personal associations started between the leaders of both races before the war were continued. A few Negroes enjoyed success in business by serving the total community to a degree unsurpassed elsewhere in the United States. The Negro professional man as a doctor or lawyer also seemed to be coming into his own in this post-War Boston. Several Negroes received appointive political positions in both the city and state governments and for the first time Negroes were elected to positions in the city council and General Court.

The new voice of the Boston Negro was expressed most clearly by James Munroe Trotter. He was a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Harvard College and the son of William Trotter, veteran of the 54th Massachusetts Regiment. Trotter founded the Guardian in 1901 with George Forbes, an Amherst graduate and then working at the Boston Public Library. Like Garrison before him Trotter refused to equivocate on the issue of racial equality. Trotter was perhaps the last person in the Boston community who assumed the stature of national leadership. For throughout the country the Guardian was widely read by Negro intellectuals.

The Negro community of this period was becoming further diversified by the entry of increasing numbers of persons from the South, many of whom on the basis of greater education and ambition were assuming positions of leadership.

Physically too this post-war Negro community was undergoing change. It was following the pattern of the community as a whole and was shifting its base outwards, from the West End section of the core city to the more spacious and fashionable homes of the South End. This movement which started at the turn of the century began the trend which has carried the Negro population away from the center of the city into Lower Roxbury, Roxbury Highlands and Dorchester.

As with other ethnic groups the first Negroes to leave the West End were those individuals whose income and style of life encouraged them to seek larger homes and more congenial neighborhoods. In the 1890's the then stately homes along Columbus and Massachusetts Avenues and Tremont Street, Greenwich Park and Rutland Square certainly seemed to answer their needs.

Concomitant with a search for these long-sought goals there was a slow but sure deterioration in the position of the Negro which affected first, as it always does, the masses or lower-income sections. The abolition spirit had spun itself out and the heirs to this tradition seemed less concerned with the welfare and rights of Negroes than with the pressures of the flood of Irish and other immigrant groups. Signs reading "No Irish need apply" reflected greater community anxiety than obtaining rights for Negroes.

The Negro community itself seemed ill-prepared to adjust to this apparent lack of sponsorship on the part of its traditional allies. Its small size, reluctance to accept racially determined solutions to social problems, and a growing amount of cleavage within Negro ranks seemed to minimize its capacity to face its changing position. The cleavage between the Southern-born and Boston-born Negroes did not heal. In the World War I era this cleavage was aggravated further by the appearance of large numbers of migrants from the West Indies and the Cape Verde Islands.

The Period of Decline (1915-1933)

The period of obvious deterioration in the situation of the Boston Negro corresponds roughly to the post World War I period, a time of confusion and tension caused by the Great War. Boston and Massachusetts entered into what was probably their most virulent period of conflict between religious and ethnic groups. It was a period marked not so much by race hatred per se, as by fear of anything foreign or of anyone who did not represent so-called 100% Americanism. This period was marked by the rise of anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, anti-radical and anti-immigrant feelings.

In this era of suspicion and fear, the 1919 anti-immigrant Palmer Raids took place, and Sacco and Vanzetti were executed in 1927. The selection of Irish Catholic Al Smith as the Democratic standard bearer gave the hard-pressed Boston Irish their first returning salvo in the battle over Americanism. The era helped to crystallize Boston's separate ethnic and religious residential pattern and the provincialism and parochialism of its politics. As city politics became a series of plays between competing power blocs who could deliver a particular number of votes on election day, Boston politics lost its previous Yankee paternalism towards the Negro.

Yankees in charge of the State House still made traditional appointments of a few Negroes to token prestige positions such as secretary to the Governor's council, Assistant Attorney General, the Parole Board, etc. But no gains were made in jobs at the mass level. Indeed Negroes found themselves squeezed out of the favored jobs in transportation, building, municipal employment and manufacturing.

Negroes were not able to amass sufficient bloc voting power to elect a member to the General Court. And the uncompromising stand of Trotter's Guardian on the need for complete integration at any cost was being challenged on all sides and for many motives. For instance it was challenged by the desire of a prominent Negro physician to start an all-Negro hospital to give the Negro doctor the chance to have the hospital affiliation which the white hospitals did not allow him. It was challenged by the appearance of another Negro newspaper whose philosophy was to cater to the Negro's pride in his own accomplishments and to support his own endeavors. Initial gains at other levels were not being pursued. There were the well-known cases of the inability of two prominent Negro research physicians to gain more than junior appointments on the two medical faculties in the community. The Negro was having to learn how to fight for his small and meagre share of political patronage in what was increasingly becoming an Irish Democratic community. Like other immigrant groups who must cope with an urban political machine, Negroes also attempted to develop their machine and gave lukewarm allegiance to their political boss.

To combat the steady deterioration of Negro civil and civic rights in the country as a whole, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was started in 1909. One year later, the National Urban League was formed to help the millions of Negroes who were leaving the South's rural areas.

to find jobs, housing and social services in the nation's large cities. A need for such organizations was even expressed in Boston. A branch of the NAACP was chartered in 1912 and a Boston Urban League affiliate opened its doors in 1919.

In spite of obvious elements of decline in the position of the Negro community, Negroes were caught in the same patterns of the larger community and continued in their search for better living conditions. It is during this post World War I period that Roxbury may be said to have been first regarded as a Negro community. This impression, however, was erroneous, though it is easy to see how it originated as over two-thirds of Boston's Negro population has resided in Roxbury since 1940. Despite this concentration, as late as 1960 Roxbury was less than 50 per cent Negro.

The choice of Roxbury as an area of Negro settlement is not surprising. Its proximity to the South End and its general accessibility by public transport made it equally accessible to Negroes and poor whites. By 1900 all of Roxbury and Dorchester were within commuting distance of downtown Boston.

The history of Roxbury and its symbiotic relation to Boston are described elsewhere.[1] It is important to remember here that Roxbury at the time of the first Negro entry was already a suburb in decline, a decline caused by the inability of the town of colonial New England or the suburb of the 19th Century to solve the living problems of an industrial society.

Negroes led by those of their group of the higher income brackets moved first into the streets of Roxbury below Dudley Station and slowly and deliberately, following the main traffic arteries, expanded into Upper Roxbury and Dorchester. Except for an occasional old estate the suburban buildings of the late 19th and early twentieth century Roxbury into which these Negroes moved did not then meet modern standards of the day. The homes available to them were either inadequate buildings or adequate buildings on inadequate land, and even before Negroes arrived Roxbury had become a neighborhood of houses divided to keep each family's rent bill small.[1]

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[1] See "The Discarded Suburbs: Roxbury and North Dorchester 1800-1950", another in the series of ABCD Special Studies, by Sam B. Warner, Jr.

The Contemporary Period (1933 to the present)

There was during this period a slow reawakening of political awareness and a realization that to have a political boss who is without political voting strength does not give a group real political power. It was a period when the Negro seemed more willing to accept the need to fight for his rights promised but not yet forthcoming in Boston. It was a time however, when the larger society seemed least willing to afford any traditional rewards to Negroes. For instance, when Boston's Negro population began to grow, Ward 9 in Roxbury was gerrymandered in 1934 in order to make the election of a Negro difficult. This same technique had been applied twice before when Negroes were concentrated in the West End.

Innovation and stimulus for change in race relations which had once emanated from Boston to the country were now to come to Boston as a result of changes in the nation as a whole. This was also a period nationally in which a number of groups emerged as expressions of the Negro's search for identity. Some of these were chauvinistic such as Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement; others were religious with economic overtones such as the movements led by Father

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[1] Warner, Op. cit. p.12

Divine and Daddy Grace. These groups had an appeal as do the contemporary Black Muslims to those Negroes who find no solace in an interracial solution to their problem. The appeal of all these movements was restricted for the most part to the members of Boston's Negro lower classes and newer migrants who most needed to have a feeling of "belonging".

During the Great Depression Negroes had suffered in Boston as elsewhere more hardships than any other group. They provided most of the unskilled, low-paid laborers in industry and in service work. They had no seniority rights or other job protection and they were traditionally the last hired and the first to be fired. In addition, there were few Negroes in permanent civil service and public utility jobs which could help buffer the community from the worst aspects of the Depression.

This was a period when the few Negroes who had managed to acquire a permanent job in the post office or on the railroad were in a position to establish the norms and values of the group. Painfully aware that they lacked the economic or social status of leaders of an earlier period and the educational achievements or ambitions of the Southern or West Indian born Negro, this leadership attempted to establish a ceiling of achievement for the community. Non-conformists and relics of an earlier period were ignored.

State and Federal welfare programs brought some temporary relief to Negroes as they did to other urban low-income people. The whole package of New Deal social legislation has been of benefit to the Negro and other economically insecure low-income groups. In particular, the entry of the Federal government into low rent public housing was of great benefit to Negroes in Boston. The percentage of Negroes in public housing in Boston, which has risen every year, is now twice their percentage in the general population of Boston.

The Second World War brought prosperity back to the New England economy and some of it trickled down to the Boston Negro. The Negro community expanded into Upper Roxbury. Also the housing supply in Roxbury available to Negro buyers was increased by the gradual withdrawal of a substantial part of the Jewish population from Roxbury to the periphery of the city.

The 1940's saw the beginning of a really substantial growth in Negro population in Boston. Earlier new elements had been added to the Boston Negro community during the 1920's and 1930's when both Boston and Cambridge received a substantial immigration of Negroes from the British West Indies and the Cape Verde (Portuguese) Islands. Boston Negroes numbered 23,675 in 1940. The close of 1950 saw a 68 per cent population jump. By 1960, a short twenty years later, the Boston Negro population had almost tripled. By 1940 Negroes constituted 14.2 per cent of what was primarily a Jewish area, Ward 12 in Upper Roxbury. Ten years later Negroes felt strong enough to challenge the traditional Jewish leadership in the ward and Republican Edward Brooke, a Negro, almost carried the ward.

By now there was a definite shift in the voting patterns of Boston Negroes. They voted less frequently than their white counterparts, but it was no longer safe to predict that they would vote Republican. James Michael Curley, Franklin D. Roosevelt and David I. Walsh had won over significant numbers of Negroes to the Democratic party.

Boston Negroes today are not well organized for political purposes and their political leverage is dissipated both by their voting lassitude and by gerrymandering. There are two factors, however, which make Negroes a significant factor in the body politic. Negroes like the Jews still express a traditional symbolic value to liberal causes in Massachusetts. And a broadly liberal rather than a conservative platform still has the greater political appeal in Massachusetts.

In addition, state and national elections have been so long decided by such slim majorities that all minorities are significant in these elections.

Both political parties in Massachusetts joined together in the post-World War II years to make the state once more the country's leader in liberal racial philosophy and anti-discrimination legislation in the country. Such a climate has made possible to a greater degree than was heretofore the case the elevation of Negroes of exceptional ability to positions of substantial authority and influence. The best example of this is the 1960 Republican nomination of Attorney Edward Brooke for the office of Secretary of State. Brooke, now chairman of the watchdog Boston Finance Commission, obtained over a million votes state-wide. The late Deputy Superintendent of the Boston Police, Francis G. Wilson, the man who "broke" the fabulous Brink's case, was another Negro of exceptional ability. Examples of this political breakthrough must include Superior Court Judge Edward O. Gourdin and Elwood S. McKenny, Justice of the Roxbury District Court, and Lawrence Banks, first Negro elected to the General Court after roughly a quarter of a century.

However, despite the existence of an impressive package of "fair" employment, housing and education laws and the outstanding achievements of some individuals, Boston's Negroes today remain an economically disadvantaged group. Most Negroes are to be found housed in some of the city's oldest multiple-family dwellings which form a semi-circular "black belt" which begins at Skid Row on Dover Street in the South End and extends to more substantial middle class homes in Upper Roxbury and North Dorchester.

The 1960 Census shows that 14,635 Negroes live outside of the City of Boston in the 79 cities and towns that constitute the standard metropolitan area, but of these 5,671 live in Cambridge, a city which for over 50 years has had a substantial Negro population. Few of these metropolitan Negroes are part of the post World War II suburban migration from the core city. Most of them are members of long-standing Negro communities in these cities and towns and include an undetermined number of domestics living-in throughout the wealthier suburbs.

Some of the more prosperous Negroes, however, have moved into suburban communities like Randolph, Holbrook, Lexington, Lincoln and others. But when one speaks of "prosperous" Negroes, the term is only relative for there is very little wealth in Boston's Negro community. There are no Negro-owned banks or manufacturing concerns. The only outstanding example to the contrary is a credit union which has assets of approximately $1,000,000; however, because of legal restrictions on credit unions, it is limited in its lending policies with respect to mortgages and personal and business loans. Negro business establishments are usually found in those lines that by custom serve an almost exclusively Negro clientele -- funeral homes, beauty parlors, barber shops, restaurants and real estate offices.[1]

Boston's Negroes are primarily wage earners - and wage earners at the bottom of the economic pile. Family income continues to be significantly lower among Negroes than among white persons throughout the United States. While the census does not provide a direct comparison of family income in Boston, it did show in 1950 that the median income for Negroes "14 years and over with income" was 24 per cent less than the median income among white persons.[2] Two recent studies found scarcely 10 [illegible] Boston's Negro families in the $5,000 and over category.[3]

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[1] Two restaurants on Tremont Street in Roxbury and one in Saugus specializing in barbecued chicken have a substantial white patronage.

[2] U.S. Census of 1950 Population, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Massachusetts, Detailed Characteristics", p.296. The median for Negroes was $1,567 and for whites $2,075.

[3] "A Study of Negro Housing in Boston and Adjacent Cities, in 1954", Urban League of Greater Boston. Analysis by Dr. J. Lawrence Phelan, Chief Housing Economist, Boston Housing Authority; and Dr. Morton Rubin "Negro Migration and Adjustment in Boston", Northeastern University, 1958.

Negro labor is concentrated in a few major categories; the largest number are service workers, a smaller group are operatives and other unskilled laborers, and still fewer are craftsmen and similar skilled workers.

Many Negroes are now employed in the large department stores in Boston. A few hold responsible executive positions in these stores. More Negroes than ever before are in civil service jobs, but few get the many political patronage jobs because of the ineffectual political organization of the Negro community. Many unions are a stumbling block to the Negro's progress in various trades because of unions' discriminatory apprenticeship programs and other practices. There are actually some segregated unions like the Musicians' Union and de facto segregated unions like the sandhogs.

Lines of communication among the various elements in the Negro community in Boston are rudimentary. The principal vehicles of communication are the small social cliques, word of mouth, and four relatively ineffectual local weekly newspapers. One of these Negro weeklies has been published for about 35 years, yet the total circulation of all four newspapers is reported to be no more than 2,500. Three out-of-town weeklies are reputed to enjoy a combined circulation which is as large. In July, 1961 an out-of-state company began publishing what will now be an eighth newspaper reaching, together with the other seven, less than ten per cent of the Negro population.

The Negro press shows no militancy nor does it attempt to identify the Boston Negro community and the common problems of its component parts in an effort to arouse concerted action. A fairly well-read paper in the Boston Negro community is a free paper, one of a local chain of free community newspapers, published by white interests. This paper carries news that is sent in to them by all ethnic groups living in Roxbury and the South End.

While far from a socially homogeneous group, social stratification among Negroes in Boston has not been based on color to the same extent as in many Negro communities, particularly in the South. Boston Negroes lack a significant "shady" structure, as in New York and Chicago. There is an absence of a Bohemian or entertainer group such as exists in New York and Los Angeles, despite attempts to create one and to develop a literary group. The small size of Boston's Negro community may be largely responsible for the failures to develop these features of many other larger Northern Negro communities.

Any analysis of the Boston Negro community cannot ignore its relationship to the larger society. Generally and traditionally, the attitude of the larger community has been one of paternalistic liberalism. The sweeping liberal legislation affecting housing, employment, public accommodations and education was passed with little white opposition and with little militant fighting on the part of the Negro community. This legislation has not encouraged the development of dynamic, self-reliant Negro leadership and it has left the Negro press with little of the traditional emotional issues around which to rally Negro thinking and support.

Negro leaders and the Negro press seem scarcely concerned that in practical terms Boston Negroes are not as well off economically as many Negro communities in the North or even in some Southern cities which boast less advanced legislation. The absence of explosive racial incidents and tensions in Boston up to now has tended to encourage factionalism and indifference.

The Boston Negro community has several features peculiar to it that distinguish it from other Negro communities. One of these has been its decided lack of race consciousness and its tendency always to consider the "larger view". Boston's Negroes have traditionally manifested a remarkably faithful adherence to certain Brahmin and proper Bostonian values such as the importance of family lineage, pride in local origin and superiority toward outsiders, and political and social conservatism.

The Boston Negro community lacks many of the elements of a cohesive society. The main unifying force in this community of disparate backgrounds and interests is skin color -- and prevalent attitudes in the general community concerning skin color impose social and economic segregation on all of its bearers, irrespective of origin or achievement.

Springing from this paradox of liberalism and discrimination the Boston Negro community has often found it difficult to agree on paths of action. Its willingness to accept the retreat to a less than fully integrated life has competed, and sometimes successfully, with the real hardship of achieving, as a politically and economically weak minority group, a truly equalitarian position in Boston.

After many decades of being 2 to 3 per cent of the population, Boston's Negroes are now almost 10 per cent. The seeds of discontent among Negro unemployed, unemployable and underemployed are being nurtured by the black nationalist groups operating in the most mobile section of Roxbury-North Dorchester. There is growing evidence that unless constructive and practical leadership is forcefully exercised by both whites and Negroes, the uneventful slumber of Boston's rapidly increasing Negro community may be drawing to a close.

HOUSING AND MOBILITY

Introduction

Housing is generally considered the foremost problem facing Negroes in Northern metropolitan areas today. It is closely associated with mobility. Mobility, in turn, is reflected in changing neighborhoods, which have been a normal phenomenon in American cities. Neighborhoods may change from residential to industrial, from commercial to insitutional use; from single-family homes to apartment houses, from individual ownership to rental properties.

Mobility, too, is a normal condition in America, which is said to have the most mobile population in the world. People of all racial, religious and ethnic groups in America move for many reasons such as change in family size, change in income, new job opportunities, status-seeking. Americans move from rural areas to the cities, from the inner cities to the suburbs, from the South to the North and from the East to the West. One of the most significant features of this mobility is the influence it exerts on where minority groups live in American cities and what economic, social and political problems they encounter.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the broad aspects of housing and mobility of Negroes in Boston. It will consider the pattern of movement, the condition of houses, and issues related to public housing and private housing. The implications for urban renewal will be highlighted at the conclusion of the chapter.

The first consideration should be: what makes the housing situation for Negroes different from the housing situation for any other citizen of the city? The problem of housing for Negroes cannot be dealt with except in relationship to other community problems which confront the Negro. When the broad social problem facing the Negro is stripped of its complexities, prejudice and discrimination are found at the core. Prejudice causes discrimination against the Negro and the discrimination, in turn, feeds prejudice. This vicious circle leaves a train of consequences in its wake - limited education, poor economic conditions, poor housing, high rates of social disorganization.

Out of this prejudice comes the image of the Negro held by most other Americans. While most people are assigned prestige according to such criteria as occupation, schooling, wealth and family background, the Negro is considered a caste apart from the social class structure of American society. While many Negroes are in the lower socio-economic group, a generalization is usually made thatall Negroes are of lower class culture. This severely limits the group's upward and outward mobility. Suburbia, for example, is a middle class phenomenon. Current stereotypes contribute much to barring the middle class Negro who has the cultural standards and financial ability associated with suburban living. The concept that the social class "rules of the game" do not apply to the Negro American underlies much of the interpretation in this chapter.

The tendency of groups to cluster should be recognized as a universal practice. The reasons for this, however, should be understood. The ingredient that places group-clustering by Negroes in a different perspective from other groups is the flagrant discriminatory practices levelled against them. Segregated living serves to compound these practices. It creates segregated schools, recreational resources and other conditions that may foster a feeling of inferiority.

The sources from which data were drawn for this study include published materials, interviews with knowledgeable individuals, some of them heads of community organizations, and the writer's own knowledge gained from living and working in the community for the past seventeen years.

Growth and Movement of the Negro Population

For three hundred years Negroes have lived in Boston and contributed to its development. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, a small Negro group settled in the North End and the West End. In 1960, 63,165 Negro Americans living in Boston constituted 9.1 per cent of the total population. Table I appended to this chapter shows the growth of the Negro population since 1890. In Boston, as is true on a national scale where the Negro forms 10.5 per cent of the population, Negroes are today the largest of the racial and ethnic minority groups.

Consistent with the patterns of group clustering, 80 per cent of the Negroes living in Boston today are concentrated in four districts comprising 20 of the city's 156 census tracts. There are 3,325 Negroes residing in Back Bay; 11,156 in Dorchester; 36,813 in Roxbury and 9,846 in the South End. Only 1,525 Negroes live outside these four districts, with not more than 358 in any one of the remaining districts. (See Table II) For example, thirty Negroes live in West Roxbury, a predominantly middle class Irish district; 66 live in Hyde Park and 259 live in Jamaica Plain, a district adjacent to Roxbury.

While Boston as a whole lost 104,247 residents between 1950 and 1960, it had an increase of 23,108 Negroes during the same period. There are almost as many Negroes living today in Roxbury alone as lived in all of Boston ten years ago. Their direction of movement is clearly indicated by the 1950-1960 decline in Negro population in the South End and Lower Roxbury and the increase in the southern part of Roxbury and North Dorchester. In a 1959 study of pupil mobility in a South End school district, Doris Warner concluded that "the main trend of mobility in Boston is the suburbs but the main trend in the Dwight District is to the contiguous areas of the city, mainly Roxbury and Dorchester."[1]

The concentration and pattern of movement of Negroes in Boston simply reflect an old and widely accepted theory in urban ecology. As first settlers move up the economic ladder, they tend to move away from the core city. In this movement, minority group families are affected by factors not applicable to other families. Discrimination in the sale and rental of housing confines them to limited areas, while at the same time discrimination in employment and education curtails their economic opportunity and thus tends to keep them relegated to cheap housing. Consequently, more than any other segment of the population, minority families tend to become caught on the bottom rung of the housing ladder and thus become "invaders" of decaying areas. With skin color as a barrier to assimilation the Negro becomes the most vulnerable of the minority groups.

According to Walter Firey, a large Negro population first appeared in Boston after 1789, when slavery was legally abolished in Massachusetts. They "gradually took over the cheap dwellings around the north end of Joy Street and the adjoining portion of Cambridge Street, from there spreading over the entire north slope (of Beacon Hill, more generally referred to as part of the West End)".[1] A vivid description of where Negroes lived in the West End was recently given the writer by a Boston resident whose father's uncle settled there from Virginia in 1875, later sending for his relatives. According to this informant, around the year 1900 Negroes were living on South Russell, South Grove, North Anderson, Phillips, Irving and surrounding streets. The Charles St. Church, then located on the corner of Mt. Vernon and Charles Streets, was the center of activity for the Negro community; the building is still there but the church congregation has long since moved to Roxbury. The Negro population later shifted from the West End to the South End.

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[1] Doris A. Warner, "A Study of the Mobility of Pupil Population in the Dwight School District and Its Underlying Factors", July, 1959,

Beginning about 1846, the South End was settled first by white upper class families, with Union Park, Franklin Square, Worcester Square and Rutland Square favorite locations. It was the preferred residential district of the city from 1860 to 1870. As people of lower income began to settle on Columbus Avenue, where from the beginning there had been cheaper dwellings, and as other parts of the South End became middle and lower class neighborhoods, the flight of the elite began. Forty years later, around 1912, Negroes moved into this area. The Negro population centered around Dover Street, Chandler, Appleton and neighboring streets. The Calvary Baptist Church on the corner of Shawmut Avenue and Waltham Street, now a publishing house served this community.

The Negro population leap-frogged over the Union Park area, to Northhampton Street, Warwick, Hammond and on to Ruggles Street, while moving into some of the cheaper housing on Columbus Avenue. Ebenezer

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[1] Walter Firey, "Land Use in Central Boston", Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1947, pp. 47-48

Baptist Church on West Springfield Street and Peoples' Baptist Church on Camden Street served the areas. The Negro population took another jump to Bower, Catawba and other streets, then on to Herrishof and streets running off Humboldt Avenue. After World War I, this movement continued spottily up to Crawford Street. Since World War II, the movement has continued up to Seaver Street and Franklin Field and has shifted into Dorchester. Remnants of enclaves left in the path of this hopscotch movement are still discernible.

This flight-invasion cycle has continued in Boston. With the exodus of the elite from the South End beginning in 1870, two subsequent peaks of middle class movement to suburbia have occurred, one in 1929 and another in 1945. This trend was arrested during the Depression of the 1930's, and Boston's neighborhoods remained relatively stable. The resumption of flight and invasion in Boston after World War II reflected a national phenomenon which grew out of contemporary economic conditions: higher income, liberal and more accessible government mortgages, a greater abundance of the good things in life in general. How the Negro fitted into these conditions, is an integral part of Boston's housing situation today.

The increase in the Negro population in Boston over the past ten years is obvious from the census data; however, little is known about the Negro immigrant. Information is needed to show whether or not these migrants come to Boston directly from the South, from rural areas or cities, or via some other metropolitan city. Data is needed about their education, employment skills and social class.

According to the one available study on the subject, "as for point of origin with respect to Negro migrants specifically, the South migration from this region to Boston. Increase is also noted from the Old Southwest Territory (Mid-South)....Migration from other points in the Northeast continues to be important".[1] A careful examination of Police Lists in terms of the last address given would shed some light on the newcomers, and additional information could be obtained from Negro ministers, doctors, and from observations on certain streets, in beauty parlors and barber shops.

Whether or not the South End still serves as a "port-of-entry" for Negroes arriving in Boston was not clearly established by the research for this paper. This could not be determined conclusively from the 1960 census data. Many newcomers are known also to reside in sections of Roxbury. While there was a population loss in those census tracts in the South End and Lower Roxbury where Negroes are concentrated, this did not necessarily preclude new arrivals. In addition, some South End community leaders on the basis of their own observations are skeptical about the validity of the loss of population reported in the 1960 census. This raises serious questions as to the accuracy of the data obtained by door-to-door surveying in this rooming house area. On the basis of their experience, responsible leaders, such as the Director of United South End Settlements, the Executive Secretary of the NAACP and the Community Relations Secretary of the Urban League of Greater Boston, feel that the South End still serves as a port-of-entry for in-migrant Negroes coming to Boston.

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[1] Morton Rubin, "Negro Migration and Adjustment in Boston", Department of Sociology, Northeastern University.

Priced out of the mass exodus from the city to suburbia and kept out by social restrictions, the Negro in Boston is involved in this movement more in terms of wish than of reality. Little is known about the extent to which they move out of the State. In a study on the Negro's wish to move from Boston, Rubin found that 29 out of 353 Negro respondants expressed a desire to leave the Boston area altogether.[1] Rubin concluded that with more modest income and education, though dissatisfied with Boston, these people were less inclined toward suburbia and that "many have had urban experience elsewhere in the northeast, and they might constitute a transient group as such". The dynamics affecting the movement of Boston Negroes to outlying communities will be examined later in relation to discrimination in private housing.

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[1] Rubin, op. cit.

Condition of Housing

Associated closely with mobility is the condition of housing in which Negroes live. It is important to note first, however, that housing throughout Boston is old. Seventy-five per cent of all dwelling units in Boston were built before World War I.[1]

In 1960, 21 per cent of Boston's dwelling units were reported to be deteriorating or dilapidated.[2] However, 49 per cent of the housing occupied by non-whites is deteriorating or dilapidated in Roxbury, North Dorchester, South End and Back Bay, the districts of heaviest Negro concentration. (See Table III.) The same imbalance is expressed in the fact that non-whites constitute 10 per cent of the city's population bug occupy 21 per cent of its substandard housing.[3]

This same pattern dates back to 1789 when Negroes in the West End are said to have lived in old, wooden shacks, "the most miserable huts in the city".[4] The brick row houses that replaced these huts by 1870 and 1880 were occupied by immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe. There seems to be evidence, however, that many Negroes in the West End lived in three and four-story brick buildings with cold water flats which were normal housing in Boston at that time. By 1885, long before Negroes moved into it, the South End had become a rooming house area, with all the problems of disorganization that are characteristic of such areas. The houses that were available to Negroes had to be accepted with their limitations. Many were cheap row houses. In addition to being old, usually they had not been maintained by the group that preceded the Negro. Later, as Negroes moved into Roxbury, they were faced with similar conditions. There they inherited many three-deckers, too close together, built by speculators. In many cases today, needed repairs have been delayed because of the financial demands associated with too high assessments and insurance problems in congested areas.

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[1] Daniel J. Ahern, "Bostonians Launch Bold, New Attack on the City's Urban Renewal Problem," Greater Boston Business, February 1959.

[2] See Table III.

[3] The non-white population consists of 63,165 Negroes and 5,328 "other races".

[4] Firey, op. cit.

In view of the fact that the first Rehabilitation Project undertaken is in Roxbury, where over half of the Negroes in Boston live, and in light of the spot-checking, house survey required as part of the Project Plan, the Boston Redevelopment Authority is recommended as a source for more comprehensive data on the condition of housing in Roxbury. In terms, however, of the human side of the picture, which sometimes is completely over-shadowed by statistical data, it might be of some value to look at the condition of housing from the vantage point of the people affected by it.

It should be observed that the greatest increase in the Negro population in Boston occurred in the last twenty years, from 1940-1960. A correlation may be drawn here with the increase in the individual's home-purchasing power. Armed with the G.I. Bill of World War II and the Korean conflict, Negro veterans, too, found it financially easier to purchase homes. The homes available to them, however, for reasons cited above were the old, depreciating houses being vacated in the core city.

Two family houses and especially three-family houses that were originally built for fewer families have been purchased to a considerable extent by Negroes who only a short time ago were migrants from the South. The prices of these homes first ranged from $12,000 to $15,000 and later to $24,000. One has only to talk with Negro real estate brokers, Negro ministers, and to note conversations within the Negro communities to be assured that this kind of home-purchasing continues to exist. This determination to purchase homes stands out in bold relief against open and subtle discrimination as one important manifestation of the Negro's continuing search for improved standards of living and position in American life.

The dwelling units forsaken in Lower Roxbury were in many instances so bad that they were uninhabitable. These buildings were already old in 1934, when a W.P.A. Housing Inventory listed the South End and Lower Roxbury as having the largest amount of substandard housing. Visual inspection makes no other proof of this fact necessary. A walk along such streets as Warwick, Cabot, Windsor and Ruggles, to name a few, reveals many spots where houses have been demolished and where most remaining housing has deteriorated to the extent that it has been or should be condemned. Negroes left these houses to "move up on the Hill". They were unaware, no doubt, that they may have been subconsciously motivated by the universal, ageless concept that living on the hill carries more status than living in the valley.

Public Housing

One outlet offering Boston Negroes decent, safe and sanitary dwellings has been public housing. Out of the 13,799 units in Boston's 15 Federally-aided and 10 State-aided public housing projects, Negroes were living in all except six in 1959.[1] A total of 134 families of Negro veterans were living in the 3,640 occupied units of State-aided housing. Of the 9,844 occupied units of Federally-aided, low-rent housing, 1,632 were occupied by Negro families. Just as the Negro has more than his share of substandard housing in Boston, so also this group, only 9.1 per cent of the City's total population, occupies 13½ per cent of Boston's public housing units.

Where Negroes live in public housing reflects the same pattern of discrimination and segregation as is found in private housing. The first housing project to accommodate Negroes at all was occupied completely by Negroes. This was the Lenox St. Project, built in Lower Roxbury in 1940. The second project to accommodate Negroes was a bi-racially segregated one, Orchard Park, also occupied in 1940. Located in a racially mixed. low-income area, this project restricted four contiguous buildings to Negro occupancy only. The state program made its contribution to segregated housing projects in Boston in 1949, when Camden Street was built as an adjunct to Lenox Street. Several other projects were built between 1938 and 1949 but maintained primarily an all-white occupancy.

With the passage of the law in 1950 forbidding discrimination in public housing, segregation at the point of initial occupancy came to a close. The fact remains, however, that those projects located in or near the neighborhoods where most of the Negroes in Boston live have the largest Negro occupancy. Over half of the units of South End

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[1] Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, "Annual Report", Boston, November, 1959, p.13.

Housing Project are occupied by Negro families. In 1959, 186 of the 200 units at Whittier Street in Lower Roxbury were occupied by Negro families as were 440 of the 588 units at Mission Hill Extension. The number of Negro families living in these Projects is known to have increased since that time.

Since 1950, occupancy in Boston's public housing projects has ranged from token integration in projects located in neighborhoods where few or no Negroes live to a predominance of Negroes in projects located in neighborhoods heavily populated by them. Projects that were segregated before 1950, for the most part, have remained so. Orchard Park is an outstanding exception; Negroes now live throughout the project.

The six projects in which no Negroes live are located outside of the "Negro belt"; Fairmount in Hyde Park, Gallivan Boulevard in Southeast Dorchester, South Street in Jamaica Plain; East Boston and Old Harbor Village in South Boston, and Mission Hill. Although Mission Hill Project is located in Roxbury, it is west of the regular path of Negro movement and is in the predominantly Irish Catholic Mission Hill neighborhood, from which the project gets its name.[1] While Mission Hill Project (1941) continues to remain all-white, Mission Hill Extension (1953) is increasingly becoming all-Negro. A letter from one of its tenants to the NAACP, dated May 2, 1961, reflects a feeling generally encountered among Negroes. The letter reads in part: "I have not been here two years as yet, but it occurs to me that the Mission Hill Extension Public Housing Project is being made all Negro! Whether via indifferent handling or design I do not know. I came into an apartment vacated by white and since then I note that 3 other apartments whose previous occupants were white, are now occupied by colored. In the building opposite me there also was a white replaced by colored..... Has anyone else reported this? Several have mentioned it to me which means that others have noticed...."

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[1] As a result of proximity to Catholic churches, many people call the South End Project, "The Cathedral" and the Commonwealth Avenue Project in Brighton "The Monastery". This appears to reflect the political and residential dominance of the Irish Catholic group in Boston. This dominance has been reflected also by the pattern of site selection.

There is sufficient evidence to prove that Negro and white residents can live in harmony in the same neighborhood where there is some stability in the proportion of Negroes to whites and confidence in its remaining stable. The Deutsch and Collins study of integrated housing projects clearly showed that integration in housing provided a social atmosphere more favorable to friendly associations and that more neighborly contacts were made between members of the different races. Evidence does show, however, that rarely does an area remain interracial unless controls are in operation. The present racial imbalance in Boston's low-rent housing projects will probably be perpetuated unless some direct effort is made to change it, with serious consideration given now to continued occupancy, transfers, and initial occupancy in the future.

Another aspect of housing which is of concern to the Negro is public housing for the elderly. The 85,392 older citizens of Boston, 12.2 per cent of Boston's 1960 population, are characterized generally by low income, employment restrictions, limited mobility, and social and, in many instances, physical limitations. The added ingredient of racial discrimination makes the housing problem even more acute for elderly Negroes.

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In addition to the 2,800 elderly families living in regular public housing projects, 480 families will be accommodated by the Boston Housing Authority's seven small developments specially designed for the elderly, and now under construction. Even so, this will hardly begin to reach the 8,625 elderly families now living in substandard housing in Boston. A report released by the Boston Housing Authority, dated May 12, 1961, stated that the increasing number of requests for housing by the elderly now amounts to over 2,500. The report stated further that even "at the maximum possible rate of admission, it will take more than six years to house all of the elderly applicants now on the waiting list."[1]

Monthly rents in the Boston Housing Authority's program average between $40, and $45., including heat, hot water, cooking and lighting costs. The Authority has reported that the annual income of its typical elderly family is $1,840. The cost of living for the older citizen in Boston (second only to Chicago which has the highest cost of living in the country) is said to be $3,304, with rent, heat and utilities alone amounting to $1,029.[2] Thus, it is evident that the demand for housing by the elderly will be greater for low-rent, public housing.

In the Massachusetts Citizen's State Advisory Committee's report on the needs of senior citizens in Massachusetts, the greatest need was for housing in the low and middle income brackets.[3] They therefore recommended that additional low-rent public housing be provided, as well as new construction and rehabilitated buildings under private auspices. They cited the importance of avoiding the "institutional atmosphere"; of providing for a variety of living arrangements in "scattered sites", located "near community centers" in order that the social as well as the physical needs of the elderly might be met. Indeed, these recommendations designed for older people without regard to race, might well provide a framework for occupancy on a democratic basis.

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[1] M. Deutsch and N.E. Collins, "Interracial Housing," Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1951.

[2] Margaret S. Statz, "The BLS Interim Budget for a Retired Couple", Monthly Labor Review, U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, November, 1960, p.1144.

[3] Massachusetts Citizen's Advisory Comm[illegible] "Facts and Futures: Report [illegible] Commonwealth of

The 86 units of low-rent public housing for the elderly currently under construction at the corner of Elm Hill Avenue and Seaver Street in Upper Roxbury might well provide a test of the previous point. Along with the factors mentioned above, if elderly people really do like to live close to the center of the city and to remain in the communities where they have resided, it may be that open occupancy will pose no serious problem in this project. Located on the periphery of a changing neighborhood, this site is adjacent to private apartment buildings still containing a number of elderly Jewish people. It is interesting to note that among the differing opinions in the community regarding the use of this location for the project, one view held that a housing project would detract from the appearance of the neighborhood and depreciate the value of some of the most expensive homes owned by Negroes in Roxbury. According to that opinion, the mere existance of a housing project in the area would be a threat to the "status" of the community. The significance of that view is its reflection of the reputation of public housing. It strongly implies the need first to consider increasing the maximum income for continued occupancy in public housing, and second, to achieve a degree of integration that would counteract the popular misconception that Negro automatically means "all-bad". Under Title II of the 1961 Federal Housing Act, provisions have now been made for over-income families to remain in FHA projects, with their rent scaled to their income, until suitable private housing can be found.

An excellent example of rehabilitation of existing buildings to house the elderly, with a charitable foundation as the source for funds, is found in the Ada Hinton Apartments. The complete renovation and remodelling by the Commonwealth Housing Foundation of a large, deteriorating building located in the Washington Park Urban Renewal Project Area resulted in the present 24 attractive apartments. These apartments are of 1½ to 2½ rooms, each with modern kitchen and bathroom facilities. The rents ranging from $50 to $65 monthly include heat, hot water, most public utilities, janitor and elevator service.[1] As of this writing, 22 of the 24 apartments are rented.

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[1] Frank W. Morris, Jr., Administrator, Ada Hinton Apartments, is the source of this information

Private Housing

The problem facing Negroes in private housing is basically the same throughout this country today. It is two-dimensional: There is the basic need for decent housing on the one hand, while on the other there is resistance to fully accepting the Negro into the mainstream of American life. The latter part of this problem, which has its roots firmly embedded in caste and class, aggravates the former. Without equal opportunities in education and employment, the Negro finds it not only difficult economically to afford housing on the open market, but also difficult socially to discredit myths that restrict his movement.

This problem is somewhat modified for the Negro in Boston, however. Fair housing and fair employment practices laws have enabled progress toward attaining equal opportunities in housing and employment. De facto segregation of schools is a problem that stems from residential segregation rather than from unequal opportunities for education in Boston. (See the report on "Education".)

The cold, hard fact is that Negroes do not have equal access to available housing in Boston. This situation has been nurtured by the same factors that have affected most large, Northern cities. As a result of displacement by farm mechanization, a desire for better jobs and for escape from racial segregation and discrimination, Negroes from both the rural and urban South have migrated North at an increasing momentum in recent years. Upon arrival, Negroes usually find housing available to them only in the already over-crowded ghettos. These are the dynamics that led to a 57 per cent increase between 1950 and 1960 in the Negro population in Boston, while the total city population decreased 13 per cent.

The 1960 census figures covering population in metropolitan Boston show that wherever a sizeable number of Negroes reside, there exists a "black belt" or a series of "black areas".[1] One or more families can often be found as exceptions. This is a national phenomenon.

In Boston, this "belt" encompasses an area which "starts a few blocks from the Boston Common near skid row at Dover Street in the South End, threads its way south and then southeast following a few main thoroughfares through the South End, Roxbury and North Dorchester. The highest Negro population density will be found along and around some particular main streets which move southward from downtown Bosto Negro residential density decreases rapidly the further one moves east or west from these main thoroughfares. One will thus find that census tracts which have as their axis Columbus Avenue and Warren Street in the South End and Roxbury, report tracts as high as 90 and 95 per cent Negro, while Parker Hill to the west and Upham's Corner to the east, both in Roxbury, report a Negro population of less than 10 per cent.

"The main streets involved in this Negro residential pattern are Columbus Avenue, and secondarily, Tremont Street and Shawmut Avenue in the South End. When these three streets converge near the Dudley Station terminal in Lower Roxbury, Warren Street and its subsidiaries, Humboldt and Walnut Avenues, replace them as migratory corridors from which the population fans out into the Roxbury area. A secondary development has been the use by Negroes of Quincy Street as a lateral corridor to expand into the areas surrounding the upper part of Blue Hill Avenue that is in Roxbury proper, and directly north of Grove Hall, and extending as far east as Columbia Road between Quincy Street and Grove Hall. When Warren Street comes to an end and joins Blue Hill Avenue in Grove Hall (Upper Roxbury-North Dorchester), Blue Hill Avenue then becomes the vehicle for this migratory 'belt' threading its way rapidly southward into Dorchester.

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[1] For example, of the 1,087 Negroes living in Medford, 1,054 live in one census tract. The 5,671 Negroes in Cambridge live in all but one of the 30 census tracts, with over half of them concentrated in five tracts. The 1,314 Negroes in Lynn are concentrated in several small areas.

The Back Bay neighborhood supposedly shows a Negro population of 3,325, concentrated for the most part in two pockets immediately adjacent to Columbus Avenue but across the New Haven tracks. On closer examination, it is discovered that 2,000 of Back Bay's Negroes are located in the Mission Hill Extension low-income Housing Project (82 per cent Negro) in Roxbury, but were erroneously counted in the Back Bay because the 'Fenway-Brookline Avenue' census tract includes part of Lower Roxbury. The areas of Negro settlement are thus all contiguous and form a 'black belt' curving southeasterly, the farthest point no further than 5 miles from the State House or the Boston Common. Visually plotted on a map the shape of this curve closely resembles a boomerang."[1]

It should be noted that in none of the four districts of concentration does the Negro population form a majority. In addition to that, Negroes are to be found living in all except 27 of Boston's 156 census tracts. In fact, Boston's area of Negro concentration may really be called a "gray belt" in comparison with the black of New York's Harlem or Chicago's South Side. Both, however, are developed from the same ingredients, and the difference in c[illegible] merely reflects the extent to which Negroes constitute a [illegible] city's total population.

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[1] Excerpted from a report by Robert M. Coard, Community Services Secre-

The great demand for adequate housing by Negroes [illegible] limited supply available to them and the b[illegible]s fears that [illegible] with whites in changing neighborhoods [illegible] most inevitably to an all-Negro neighborhood. The process by which this occurs is known as "tipping". While the "tip point" and the length of time to reach it may vary, depending upon the neighborhood or city, it is generally conceded that once the proportion of Negroes in a neighborhood exceeds roughly 25 per cent, whites will not remain. As a tremendous need for additional housing develops, a few Negroes, eager to move into better housing and neighborhood will break through the ghetto walls, resulting in a torrent of pressures.

According to Morton Grodzins, the residential expansion of the Negro population in metropolitan areas follows roughly the following patterns:[1]

(a) Residential concentrations are segregated.

(b) Once an urban area begins to swing from predominant white to predominant Negro occupancy, the change is rarely reversed.

(c) The pattern of Negro residential expansion is from the core of the city outward.

(d) The Negro population moves generally into areas already characterized by high residential mobility.

So far, there has been no reversal in the swing from predominant white to predominant Negro occupancy within the "black belt" in Boston.[2]

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[1] Morton Grodzins, "The Metropolitan Area as a Racial Problem," Pittsburg, University of Pittsburg Press, 1958, pp. 5-6

[2] It is interesting to note that the area in the West End which was once occupied by Negroes, became and has remained occupied by whites.

Whether or not this can be accomplished in Lower Roxbury is a significant challenge to the Boston Redevelopment Authority relative to land use in that area and plans regarding occupancy. A case in point is Census tract R-1, bounded by Washington, Camden, Tremont, Hammond, Warwick, Westminster, Ruggles, Auburn, and Vernon Streets, where Negroes were 95 per cent of the population in 1960. This paper has already established that the other three patterns described by Grodzins are found in Boston.

The chief weapon used against Negroes pioneering in all-white neighborhoods is the myth concerning property values. The myth is simply based upon prejudice, blind bias and the need for scapegoats. For those who accept homogeni of neighborhood as a goal, the corollary is that any change in the neighborhood will bring a decline in property values. In addition, when lending agencies reduce the amount of money they are willing to make available for a home to be occupied by a Negro, the price the seller can get is forced down to the lending agencies' new concept of the home's value. When a Negro family does move into an all-white neighborhood, white home owners, expecting prices to go down, or frequently stimulated by unscrupulous real estate dealers- both white and Negro - put their homes on the market and a panic follows. An abundance of houses produces lower prices, thereby reinforcing the belief that property values decline. Studies, particularly one dealing with the subject in cities across the country, completely negate the theory that property values decline when Negroes enter all-white neighborhoods.[1]

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[1] Luigi Laurenti, "Property Values and Race", University of California Press, 1960

The paradox is that even when these circumstances prevail initially, prices for the same property later become inflated through exploitation of the housing market for Negroes. Even so, evidence in Roxbury shows that in most cases the new Negro home-owners improve their property and maintain it better than their immediate predecessors.

Aids to Open Occupancy

Fortunately, there are certain community programs that serve as aids to open occupancy. The ever-increasing fair housing legislation in Massachusetts provides the framework for a brighter housing picture for Negroes in Boston, as well as throughout the State. As the result of a law passed in 1957 and strengthened in 1959, the Attorney General's rulings, and other laws passed in 1960 and 1961, Massachusetts now has legal provisions that apply to the following types of private housing:

Rental of Apartments: No person may be refused because of his race, religious creed, color, or national origin the right to rent an apartment in any building containing three or more rental units.

Purchase of Homes: No person may be refused because of race, religious creed, color or national origin the right to buy a home in any housing development containing ten (10) or more housing accommodations.

Rooming Houses: No licensed rooming house which takes five or more boarders, not related to the proprietor, may discriminate against a person seeking lodgings because of his race, religious creed or color.

Real Estate Offices: A real estate office is a place of public accommodation. A licensed real estate agent or broker, therefore, may not discriminate against any person seeking his services because of race, religious creed or color.

Mortgage Loans: Nooperson engaged in the granting of any mortgage loan may discriminate on the basis of race, color, religious creed, national origin or ancestry against any person seeking such a loan.

Court Injunctions: The State is empowered to seek a court injunction compelling a landlord to hold a property vacant while a hearing is pending before the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination. (This latest law is said to carry the strongest enforcement procedures of any measure in the country.)

Another aid to open occupancy is the existance of a Federation of Fair Housing Practices Committees in Massachusetts. This Federation consists of committees in twenty-two metropolitan Boston communities. Current plans include organizing committees in the inner-city, with one now existing in the Beacon Hill-Back Bay area and another in Roslindale. The purpose of these committees is "to insure that all people who wish to live in their community may do so without discrimination because of race, religion, or national origin." They propose o do this by assisting individual families in finding and moving into uitable housing, by welcoming new-comers to their neighborhoods, by romoting education within their communities on the problem and in everal other ways.

The Greater Boston Fair Housing Practices Committees movement has ts origin in the church. In the Spring of 1956, a men's group in a nitarian Church in Natick had as one of its guest speakers a Negro employee of the Quartermaster Corp Research Center there. After hearing of his difficulty in finding a place to live in Natick, two members of the group took the initiative in finding homes for Negroes there as long as normal real estate offices were closed to minority groups. They relied upon their own contacts in the church and elsewhere to find people willing to sell to Negroes. In January, 1957, the committee was organized formally, on a town-wide, independent, non-sectarian basis. Contacts with prospective Negro buyers were made through friends on the Committee. During its developmental stage, the Natick Committee received consultation and moral support from the Urban League of Greater Boston, the Boston Branch NAACP and the New York National Race Relations Secretary of the Congregational Church. With the assistance of the NAACP, a second Fair Housing Practices Committee was organized in Wellesley. Thereafter, the movement grew with assistance coming from various sources.

The Congress on Racial Equality, CORE, also serves as an aid to open occupancy. From the beginning, this group has concentrated upon helping applicants move into rental housing in the inner-city and disseminating information regarding the fair housing laws. The techniques used by CORE are testing, negotiating, picketing, and other measures of a non-violent nature.

The program of the Urban League of Greater Boston, a social welfare agency, serves as an aid to open occupancy in various ways. The League serves as a community resource for information on most facets of Negro life in Boston. It also performs an educational function through speeches, conferences, clinics, news-letters, brochures, and the like. It works toward resolving difficulties connected with obtaining fire insurance, mortgage financing, equitable assessing and abatement procedures. While much of the effort of the League has been concentrated on housing conditions of Negroes in the core city where most Boston Negroes live, the Urban League has been active from the inception of the movement as a consultant with the 22 Fair Housing Practices Committees.

The Boston Urban League serves in an advisory and consultative role with a variety of organizations whose actions affect the Boston housing picture to a greater or lesser degree, such as neighborhood organizations and Community Councils, United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston, the Federally-sponsored Voluntary Home Mortgage Credit Program, the Boston Community Development Program, the Mayor's Committees on Public Housing and on Housing for the Elderly, and the Boston Redevelopment Authority.

Pre-dating all groups that now manifest a concern for housing discrimination, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) has historically worked toward eliminating barriers to equal opportunities for the Negro in all facets of American living. It concerns itself with the whole gamut of housing. In Boston, the NAACP, through its Housing Committee, has maintained a two-dimensional approach in working on the housing problem with which Negroes are faced: civil rights and neighborhood improvement.

Through the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, the NAACP initiated the activity which led to the legislation forbidding segregation and discrimination in public housing in Boston in 1950. It worked closely with other groups in bringing about the passage of all the fair housing legislation. Subsequently, the NAACP has worked toward educating the community regarding the laws, made referrals and assisted MCAD in other ways. The Boston Branch NAACP's most recent activity in civil rights has been a request to MCAD to investigate de facto segregation in the Boston public schools.

After assisting in the early formation of Fair Housing Practices Committees, the NAACP adopted as its major role with them serving as a link between the two communities through referrals, clarification, coordination and planning. An outstanding example of this was a Housing Clinic held to bring together the Committees and the Roxbury Real Estate Brokers. The major problem of these committees continues to be finding Negro buyers and finding housing in the price range that the average American home-buyer is seeking. A more recent example of this kind of NAACP leadership is the bringing together of the Federation's Inner-City Committee, CORE, the Urban League and NAACP to coordinate planning and determine what might be accomplished more effectively through combined efforts.

The major focus of the Boston Branch NAACP housing activity has been on the inner-city, where the largest number of Negroes are affected by housing problems. This is in keeping with the interest of the National Office of the NAACP. In a report to the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Housing April 13, 1961, a representative of the NAACP National Office stated that on a national basis Negroes constitute 56 per cent of the families being displaced and 80 per cent of the families in urban areas confronted with displacement.

Enforcement of housing codes, mortgage and fire insurance restrictions, and other problems inherent in neighborhood improvement have all been included in the Boston Branch NAACP activity. The NAACP has adopted a policy statement on urban renewal, continuously conferred with appropriate public officials and, through public meetings, newsletters, and other media of mass communication, kept the Negro community informed as to the housing situation and how they are affected by it.

Much of the segregated living in Boston today, as in the rest of the nation, was determined by the granting of federal mortgage insurance benefits to discriminatory banking and building interests. The Federal government's failure to protect the right of all its citizens to enjoy FHA-insured housing has contributed not only to a "black belt" in the core city, but also to suburban communities restricted to white families only. If Negroes were permitted to distribute themselves throughout metropolitan areas on the basis of income, fewer areas would be "tipped". Instead, the restrictive process in private housing confines them to particular areas.

In an article appearing in the Boston Globe, March 23, 1961, Norman McIntosh, head of the Mortgage Department of the Provident Institution for Savings in Boston, was quoted as having made the following statement to 200 assembled realtors of the Massachusetts Association of Real Estate Boards in Boston: "As a matter of fact, there are so few people taking advantage of the low interest rates that we are lending money to out-of-state home owners." At the same time, Negroes in Boston find it difficult to obtain mortgages.

In an effort to alter this situation, House Bill #587 was recently filed jointly by two Representatives of Roxbury -- one a Democrat and the other a Republican, both Negro -- in the Great and General Court of Massachusetts requiring "all savings banks, cooperative banks, trust companies and credit unions to place 40% of the mortgage investments of each in property located within the county wherein its main office is located ". As a result of a hearing on the Bill last March, an Executive Session was called with the Commission on Banks and Banking and the proponents of the bill. At that session, the spokesman for the banking group is the head of one of Boston's foremost savings banks. According to one of the co-sponsors of the bill, this spokesman admitted that the bankers were wrong and if given a chance to prove themselves, the Representatives would find that more money would be made available in the Roxbury-Dorchester area. On the basis of that promise, the sponsors of the bill agreed to withhold action at that time. If money were not made available, they would submit the bill again next year.

In July, 1961, President Kennedy signed into law S. 1922, the housing bill on FHA Moderate Income and Displaced Families Housing.[1] The law makes liberal provisions for FHA mortgage insurance. It provides the framework for public and private resources to make both rental property and the purchase of homes available to families of low and moderate income. Many Negroes will be in need of relocation housing. However, since the FHA loans must be obtained from local lending institutions, few Negroes in Boston will benefit from this liberalized mortgage insurance program unless these institutions discontinue their restrictive practice. A case in point is the recent refusal by several banks to grant a loan to two Negro contractors for the rehabilitation of two apartment buildings on Columbus Avenue, near Egleston Square. The case is pending as of this writing. In an interview with the Director of Housing for the State Housing Board, the writer learned that rehabilitation of the buildings has been completed, but several banks have thus far refused any financing of a first mortgage, FHA, or the "pooled type" suggested at the public hearings.

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[1] Because of the potential impact of this new housing law upon housing conditions facing the Negro, the law is included as an appendix.

If this kind of practice continues on the part of local lending institutions, benefits will be denied the hundreds of Negroes to be relocated from the Washington Park Project area, in addition to hundreds of others who will qualify for "housing for moderate income families" and FHA-insured loans for home improvement and rehabilitation which the new housing law provides.

Negroes who buy property in Roxbury are faced with a unique problem in connection with assessment and abatements, as well as the problem of inflated prices. By checking information obtained from Banker and Tradesman, a real estate publication, with the records at the Assessing Department of the City of Boston, it is clearly shown that assessments are higher in Roxbury than for comparable property in any other part of Boston. For example, a three-family dwelling on Barry Park in Dorchester was purchased in 1957 at a price of $14,500 with an assessment of $5,500. In the same year, a three-family dwelling on Hutchings Street in Roxbury was purchased for $12,500 with an assessment of $9,000. Many similar cases could be documented. The examination showed that in general, the ratio of assessment to sales price for houses purchased in Roxbury was 65 per cent while that for comparable houses in Dorchester was 35 per cent.

Along with the inflated prices charged to Negroes for homes in Roxbury, assessments have been increased based solely upon these prices.

An additional unit to a house, the primary basis for an increased tax assessment, is not being built for the most part in Roxbury. This high assessment is not only a financial burden upon the home owner, but it also makes it difficult to purchase property in Roxbury-particularly under federal grants sponsored by FHA and VA.

As a result of high assessments, the problem arises of obtaining tax abatements. Abatements, in turn, involve political considerations The feeling is widespread that Negroes get minor consideration on abatements because the group is not politically potent. Because abatements are on an annual basis, in many cases involving a one-third lawyer's fee annually, the real need is for a reduction of assessments in Roxbury.

Certainly, Negro home owners share the need for a city-wide equalization of real property taxes. Past evidence shows, however, that this will not be easy to come by. The most recent example of this relates to the Equalization Survey completed in 1960. The study was recommended for the purpose of establishing objective standards for assessments, thereby eliminating the glaring inequalities that existed and the high rate of abatements. Before they would appropriat the $500,000 requested for the study by Mayor Hynes, the City Council specifically excluded all residential property of less than five units It is felt, therefore, that assessments in Roxbury should be dealt with in relation to the housing problem for the Negroes.

Fire insurance is another serious problem which faces renters as well as home owners in those areas of Boston in which Negroes are concentrated. Over and above the "standard" charge, fire insurance rates in these areas have extra charges known as "surcharges". Congeste with old buildings, with widespread use of space heaters, and replete with other problems that characterize deteriorating sections of a city, these areas have been designated as "high risk" districts. Research on the problem by the Urban League of Greater Boston reveals the following conditions:

These "high risk" districts have a rate in the insurance manual that is approximately 60 per cent higher than Boston's standard or minimum rate for a one or two-family house. In these districts there is also a 50 per cent surcharge for insurance of personal property and furnishings. Some insurance companies write no policies in these areas. Other United States companies insure in these districts only if they obtain approval from the Commissioner of Insurance for a rate in excess of the highest rate in the manual. These additional, excess charges amount to from 1½ to 3 times the already calculated "handicap" rate in the manual for these "high risk" districts. Lloyd's of London has no limit to its charges and usually insures 4 or 5 times the rate imposed for the particular "high risk" area.

Over 40 per cent of the 10,000 housing units estimated to be available to Negroes in Boston are affected by this condition. Most of these are thought to be insured by Lloyd's of London or other foreign companies, as these are the companies they are forced to use when their insurance expires. It should be added that insurance companies reserve the right to cancel arbitrarily insurance of many years standing with only 10 days notice. The particular way in which this is accomplished is through the acceptance of the insurance company's appeal for "underwriting reasons". This insurance problem makes for part of the difficulty of obtaining mortgage loans from banks.

The two State Representatives from Roxbury mentioned above introduced in the General Court of Massachusetts House Bill 676 "to establish an assigned-risk pool for fire insurance at manual rates" as is the case with automobile insurance. The bill was sent to the Insurance Commissioner for study.

This is the condition that obtains in the high priority areas in the urban renewal program. These restrictions apply to the good housing as well as to the substandard housing in those areas.

Conclusions

The greatest potential to date for ameliorating the complex housing problem facing Negroes in Boston is urban renewal. The effectiveness of its implementation depends largely upon the cooperative endeavor of a combination of community forces--public and private, government, City Hall, business and individual citizens. The Boston Redevelopment Authority is the medium through which this can be accomplished. The new housing law can be of financial assistance.

It should be recognized that the job cannot be done exclusively by the Boston Redevelopment Authority. The housing problem affecting the Negro should be viewed as a City problem and approached accordingly. The financial interests, the Chamber of Commerce, the politicians, the construction industry, the complete power structure of the City should feel the same responsibility toward Lower Roxbury and other sections where Negroes are concentrated as was evidenced toward the Prudential Center and other projects that are considered primarily in terms of their becoming assets to Boston.

It should be remembered that Negroes did not create the slums; the houses were old and the neighborhoods were deteriorating when Negroes were forced to move into them by the social conditions with which they

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were confronted.[1] The central part of the city, first to be settled, is always the oldest. The oldest is first to deteriorate. First settlers move out to the suburbs and the deteriorated section of the city is opened to newcomers. This, historically, has been the pattern of mobility in our American cities relating to all religious, racial or ethnic groups. Currently, the largest minority group in Boston caught on the bottom rung of this ladder is the Negro.

All evidence indicates that there is a need for additional low-rent public housing, including specially designed projects for the elderly. The challenge is not only to provide needed housing, but just as importantly to choose a site and enforce a pattern of occupancy which will carry out in fact the principles of democracy so readily acclaimed. This calls for a more concentrated effort on the part of the Boston Housing Authority to assign Negroes to projects located outside of the area where most Negroes are concentrated.

Relocation of Negro families is of grave concern to many persons interested in the human side of urban renewal. The dilemma lies in how to meet the needs of these substandard-housing dwellers and of the city without perpetuating the ghetto on the one hand, or completely removing them from the neighborhoood, on the other. The results of displacement of Negroes from the New York Streets area point up the seriousness of the problem of the relocation of Negroes in Boston.

The necessary relocation resulting from spot clearance in rehabilitation-designated Roxbury can be a blessing rather than a bane.

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[1] See the ABCD report by Sam B. Warner, Jr. on "The Discarded Suburbs: Roxbury and North Dorchester 1800-1950" for a description of this process.

It could well be the missing clue needed to reverse the swing in Roxbury toward an all-Negro neighborhood, and at the same time provide a medium for dispersing Negroes to housing, according to their means, in other Greater Boston communities. Open occupancy is seen not as an aspiration for the sole purpose of social contact, but as a tool which will help Negroes to achieve full dignity in their relations with their fellow-citizens. Dispersal of the Negro population, then, through relocation should receive high priority in planning for the human side of urban renewal. In view of the current mobility pattern of the Negro population in Boston, a specific effort would have to be made to effect dispersal.

The Boston climate is unique for this kind of effort because of the aids to open occupancy described above. They represent today an ally for integration just as assuredly as certain other kinds of community forces have existed all along to enforce segregation. Maximum use of these positive forces should be included along with block group activity in an action program for urban renewal. Such a program could be geared to working with home owners, recalcitrant slum landlords -- on "rent gouging" of Negroes, code violations and other important matters-and working with other community interests that will affect relocation. The problem of obtaining fire insurance at manual rates should be another area of interest to an action group. Working with in-migrant Negroes who need help in adjusting to urban living should be undertaken by appropriate groups as an aid to urban renewal.

The premise set forth in the beginning of this chapter was that the basic elements that make the housing needs for Negroes different from the housing needs of other Boston residents are prejudice and

and discrimination. The existing conditions described bear this out. It naturally follows, therefore, that any real solution must stem from the cessation of discrimination. While urban renewal cannot wait for the elimination of prejudice, it cannot succeed without a change in discriminatory practices.

The politicians, the technicians, big business and all of the public and private interests that determine the economic development of the city should first accept the fact that discrimination is practiced against a large group of people who will be affected in a personal way by urban renewal. It should be accepted in fact, rather than in platitudes, that such discriminatory practice is not good for Boston or for America. The total power structure should then proceed to supplement the existing housing programs through maximum utilization of all Federal funds available for the support of urban and industrial renewal programs.

Agreement should be reached that the difficulty Negroes experience in obtaining mortgage insurance from local lending institutions will be removed. The existing Federal and State housing laws should be fully utilized to provide financial assistance to property owners and tenants who will be faced with relocation or with needs related to rehabilitation. Various private sources and a combination of private and public real estate interests should be encouraged to make use of Federal funds available to them for the purpose of demonstrating new or improved methods of providing housing for low-income persons and families.

A revolving fund for loans at rates comparable to those for public housing might be sought for the rehabilitation and conversion of existing buildings for non-profit units for the elderly. Rent certificates that would subsidize the tenant's ability to pay in such housing would serve a great need for elderly Negroes, since most of them have no savings and are of low income.

The problem of too-high assessment and tax abatements should be considered in relation to the special problems confronting the Negro by the same power structure that accords special consideration for new businesses in relation to this same problem. The standards of City "housekeeping services", such as code enforcement, zoning and street cleaning, as these apply to the ghetto, need special attention.

As was pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, while Boston sustained a total population loss of 13 per cent between 1950 and 1960, there was a 57 per cent increase in the Negro population of the City during the same period. Continued in-migration along with a large displacement of Negro families to make way for the Inner Belt and urban renewal programs in Boston seems inevitable. Therefore, an approach is needed which would consider the special problems, the rights and privileges of the Negro. Upon the basis of such knowledge, the power structure of the city must be prepared to act. Early initiation of appropriate action is fundamental to the success of relocation. It is fundamental also to solving the problem of providing additional housing for newcomers.

If Boston is to solve its housing problem, as it relates to the Negro in particular and to the City in general, the problem of discrimination must be faced forthrightly and eliminated.

TABLE I

TOTAL POPULATION AND NEGRO POPULATION OF BOSTON AND PER CENT NEGRO FROM 1890 TO 1960

YEAR	TOTAL	NEGRO	PER CENT NEGRO
1960	697,197	63,165*	9.1
1950	801,444	40,057	5.0
1940	770,816	23,675	3.1
1930	781,188	20,574	2.6
1920	748,060	16,350	2.2
1910	670,585	13,564	2.0
1900	560,892	11,591	2.1
1890	448,477	8,125	1.8

* This includes 500 persons reported as members of crews of vessels and 189 inmates of the Deer Island House of Correction. The information in Table I is taken from Bureau of the Census reports.

TABLE II

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF BOSTON DISTRICTS, 1960, BY RACE[1]

District	Total	White	Negro	Other
Back Bay	47,587	43,568	3,325	694
Brighton	64,282	63,690	332	260
Charlestown	20,638	20,489	56	93
Dorch. North	112,504	101,269	10,892	343
Dorch. South	74,135	73,761	264	110
East Boston	43,282	43,136	100	46
Hyde Park	33,123	33,011	66	46
Jamaica Plain	36,476	36,171	259	46
Roslindale	40,363	39,977	301	85
Roxbury	84,918	47,388	36,813	717
North End	15,522	15,301	168	53
South Boston	48,407	47,943	358	106
South End	35,082	22,634	9,846	2,602
West End	13,718	13,457	166	95
West Roxbury	25,328	25,275	30	23
Harbor Islands	1,832	1,634	189	9
BOSTON TOTAL:	697,197	628,704	63,165	5,328

[1] Source: U.S. Census, Boston, by Census Tracts. Districts delineated by United Community Services Research Division.

TABLE III

CONDITIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN BOSTON, 1960 BY NEIGHBORHOODS[a]

Neighbor-hood	Total Units	Total Sound	Total Deter.	Total Dilap.	Non-white Total	Non-white Sound	Non-white Deter.	Non-white Dilap.
Back Bay	22,327	19,701	2,527	99	1,263	986	258	19
Brighton	23,526	22,268	961	297	168	156	12	--
Charlest'n	6,443	4,554	1,612	277	28	16	11	1
Dor. North	34,145	27,961	5,329	855	2,854	1,613	1,113	128
Dor. South	22,072	20,113	1,857	102	72	56	12	4
East Boston	13,704	12,042	1,385	277	19	16	3	--
Hyde Park	9,292	8,635	528	129	25	24	1	--
Jam. Plain	10,969	8,416	1,895	658	72	34	27	11
Roslindale	10,831	10,084	682	65	21	20	--	1
Roxbury	28,802	17,066	8,708	3,028	11,261	6,159	3,859	1,243
North End	5,658	3,406	1,969	283	17	--	7	10
South Boston	14,555	11,094	2,580	881	27	21	--	4
South End	21,401	9,687	9,449	2,265	5,708	1,893	3,143	672
West End	7,437	6,655	714	68	81	72	9	--
West Roxb.	7,365	7,174	169	22	10	10	--	--
Harbor Isl.	20	19	1	--	--	--	--	--
BOSTON TOTAL	238,547	188,875	40,366	9,306	21,626	11,076	8,457	2,093
BOSTON %	100%	79%	17%	4%	5.2%			
NON-WHITE %					(100%)	(51%)	(39%)	(10%)

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[a] Source: U.S. Census, Boston, by Census Tracts. Neighborhoods delineated by United Community Services, Research Division.

APPENDIX

FHA Moderate Income and Displaced Families' Housing Program

A Summary of the 1961 Federal Housing Act*

Title I. Provides for FHA insurance of:

1. 35 year mortgages with 3% down payment including settlement costs for $15,000 houses, 40 year maturity permitted in "hardship" cases.

2. 40 year, no down payment mortgages to non-profit or public agencies for construction of rental property.

3. 20 year, $10,000 maximum mortgages bearing not more than 6 per cent interest for home improvements.

4. Loans for experimentally designed, built or constructed houses.

5. Mortgages on individually owned units in multifamily structures.

6. Nursing home mortgages increased from 75% of value to 90%.

7. Elderly family housing mortgage increased from $9,000 ($9,400 if elevator structure) to $9,250 per family unit ($9,750 if elevator structure).

Title II. Provides for:

1. Direct loans to non-private and public agencies and consumer cooperatives up to 100% of development cost for elderly housing without any limitation on "related facilities". Revolving fund raised from $50 million to $125 million.

2. PHA contribution to be increased to provide for 100,000 more units.

3. $120 per year additional Federal payments for units rented to elderly where necessary to maintain PHA project solvency. Cost ceiling per room raised by $500 for units for elderly.

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* Washington Bulletin, Issue No.27, Volume 17, Published by Social Legislation Information Service, Inc., Wash., D.C., July 17, 1961.

Title II. (continued)

4. Local Responsibility for admission policies established in PHA projects. Over income families allowed to remain at related to income rent until suitable housing found.

5. Grants up to $5 million authorized to public or private bodies for the purpose of demonstrating new or improved methods of providing housing for low-income persons and families.

Title III. Urban Renewal

1. Grant authorization increased by $2 billion with 30% available for non-residential projects.

2. Urban renewal property may be available to a limited-divided corporation, non-profit corporation, cooperative or public body at a fair value if to be used for moderate income family occupancy.

3. Federal share of planning cost increased to two-thirds and authorized grants to $75 million.

Miscellaneous Provisions

1. Public facility revolving loan fund increased by $500 million. Eligibility limited to local government units with a population of less than 50,000 or 150,000 if located in a depressed area.

2. Comprehensive planning for mass transportation eligible for $75 million Federal grants with Federal contribution increased to two-thirds of the planning cost. Demonstration projects would be financed with $25 million from urban renewal funds. $50 million is authorized for loans to public bodies to finance transportation facilities and equipment.

3. A new $50 million grant program to assist local body open space land acquisition. The land must be part of a comprehensive active urban area plan. The grants are for up to 30 per cent of total cost.

4. The college housing revolving fund is increased by $300 million for each of four years to $2,875 million total.

5. The program of Federal advances for local public works planning received an additional authorization of $10 million to a total of $58 million.

6. Extends the farm housing program for 4 years and increases the authorization by $200 million including housing for

GETTING A LIVING

In "Middletown in Transition" the Lynds wrote that "one's job is the watershed down which the rest of one's life tends to flow in Middletown. Who one is, whom one knows, how one lives, what one aspires to be, -- these and many other urgent realities of living are patterned for one by what one does to get a living and the amount of living this allows one to buy."[1]

Most people would agree that this is a basic truism for our entire nation. For Negroes in Boston, however, and throughout the United States, this truism is conditioned by the underlying resistance to accepting the Negro as one to whom the "American Dream" applies. Because of skin color, universally recognized as a barrier to being accorded dignity and human worth, it has been possible to maintain the Negro in a caste unlike that facing any other minority group in America. Moreover, prejudice has so distorted the problems facing the Negro that it is virtually impossible to untangle housing, employment and education. Bearing in mind these interacting circumstances, this paper will now address itself to how Negroes get a living in Boston.

The economic problems facing Negroes fall within the overall economic framework of Boston. Boston's loss in recent years of certain industries that historically formed the backbone of the New England economy resulted in the elimination of many unskilled and menial jobs which so many Negroes find themselves dependent upon for their income. Automation has also contributed to the loss of these jobs. The development of the electronic industry and the expansion of others, such as insurance, have helped the Negro very little for more than one reason. Because of too little education or poor guidance in education, few Negroes have the training for these new areas of employment. Many who do qualify are often stymied in both business and organized labor by the color barrier. Both of these are aggravated by the Negro's difficulty in obtaining housing in neighborhoods near the location of these industries.

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[1] S. and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown in Transition*, Harcourt,

Since the 1960 U.S. Census data on employment in Boston will not be available for some months and because of the time limitation of this study, only a cursory treatment of the economic aspects of the Negro in Boston will be possible at this time. However, because of the importance of the economic aspect to any overview of the Negro, the writer feels that this part of the paper should be developed more adequately at a later time. The present data can serve only to suggest how crucial getting a living is to the general welfare of the Negro in Boston.

According to the 1950 U.S. Census, Boston had a total civilian non-white labor force of 18,615 persons, in comparison with a total civilian white labor force of 336,692 persons. The Industrial Relations Secretary of the Urban League of Greater Boston reported in 1958 that "approximately 58 per cent of all Negroes aged 14 years and over were in the Boston labor force as compared to 54 per cent of all whites in 1950".[1] The major categories among Negroes were service workers, operatives and kindred workers, and craftsmen. The major employment categories for white male workers were craftsmen, operatives, clerical and sales, and managers and proprietors. The job categories for both male and female white workers were almost a complete reversal in order of rank to those held by non-white male and female employees. The Urban League report cited above presented the picture very clearly in the following statement:

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[1] Otis E. Finley, "The Negro in Boston: His Employment and Economic Status," Urban League of Greater Boston, Inc., Jan., 1958, p. 3.

"In the 1950 labor force represented by white males, 11.2 percent were employed in professional jobs as compared with only 4.2 percent so represented in the non-white labor force. Managers, officials, and proprietors constituted 13.1 percent of the white male labor force as compared with only 2.8 percent in the non-white force. Clerical, sales and kindred workers totaled 18.2 percent of the white male labor force as compared with only 7.8 percent in the non-white labor force. On the other end of the job scale for male workers, service workers were represented to the extent of 29.1 percent of the non-white labor force as compared with 8.3 percent in the white labor force. Laborers constituted 16.7 percent of the non-white work force as compared with only 6.6 percent in the white labor force."[1]

The family income that comes out of this composite of job categories sheds additional light upon the economic plight of Negroes living in Boston. For non-white families and unrelated individuals the 1950 census showed that median income in the 10 census tracts heavily populated by Negroes ranged from $1,267 in a South End tract to $2,654 in an Upper Roxbury tract, with a heavy clustering at the lower end of this range. The same census showed that the median income in Boston for persons 14 years and over with income was $1,567 for Negroes and $2,075 for white persons. When it is recognized that a higher percentage of Negro women work and that this boosts the income for many Negro families, these figures reflect a human welfare problem crucial to the City of Boston.

Home ownership and median rents also reflect the Negro's economic status. As late as 1950, less than 3,000 Negroes in Boston were home owners, with the proportion of renters to the proportion of home owners in the neighborhoods of heaviest concentration as high as 80 to 90 per cent.[1] The total number of non-white owners in Boston reported by the 1960 Census is 3,397. The median property value of all owner-occupied housing is $7,900 in the four Boston districts where the Negro population is concentrated. The range in property values is from $5,000 to $25,000 or more per unit.

The census figures for average monthly rents for Negroes do not reflect the true picture. Oil for space heaters and coal for the kitchen stove, purchased on a weekly basis and therefore even higher, increase the cost so that it equals that of a heated apartment in better condition in a higher standard neighborhood. A graphic illustration of this is given in one of the cases cited by Robert Morgan in the material he collected for a series of articles for the Boston Globe and later published.[2] One family who paid $30 a month for rent was at the same time paying $15 a week for oil and coal. Morgan gave evidence also of "rent-gouging", a condition to which many Negroes attest. He referred to apartments which rented to Negroes for $20 a month more than the amount paid by the previous white occupant. For example, he found Negroes paying $65 to $70 a month where white occupants had paid $45 to $50.[3]

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[1] Edward C. Banfield and Martha Derthick, "A Report on the Politics of Boston Massachusetts," Joint Center for Urban Studies of MIT and Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1960, II-54.

[2] Robert W. Morgan, "Over the Bridge," Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 203, February, 1959, p. 7.

[3] This increase may well have been due in part to rent controls, if not due entirely to their discontinuance. Rents that could not be increased for a long [illegible]

A Fair Employment Practice Law passed in Massachusetts in 1945 ushered in a new era of fair treatment of the Negro. This same law, however, which paved the way for Massachusetts' becoming the "Fairest of the fifty" creates a paradox for maintaining vigilance regarding fair employment: since race and religion have been excluded from records, it is difficult to obtain facts about civil rights practices in order to improve them. This is especially true of employment. In the absence of the 1960 Census data, of records kept according to race, and without extensive research, knowledge of the current employment status of Negroes in Boston is necessarily limited.

The data obtained covered types and places of employment. While various companies were known to employ Negroes in various job categories, it could not be ascertained how many Negroes worked in these categories. More information is needed for an analysis to be made of the Negro's position in the Boston labor force.

Reports were obtained on surveys made by the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination on the Negro in employment from 1945-1959. These reports have no breakdown, for the most part, on job classification and they do not cover the total labor force. However, they do give some indication of the number of Negroes in various kinds of employment over a number of years. The reports presented the following facts:[1]

In 1945 there were 613 Negroes included in the total number of 40,154 persons employed by 157 metal trade firms. While the total employment in the same number of firms dropped in 1952 to 36,442, the number of Negroes employed increased to 1,106.

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[1] Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, "Digest of Employment Surveys," 1948-1959, Boston, Massachusetts.

In 1948-49, out of 39,748 persons employed by 38 industrial concerns, 1,686 were Negroes. Of the 22 banks, insurance companies and public utilities surveyed during the same period, 234 Negroes were included in the total of 50,088.

In 1953, a survey showed that 21 firms with a formal apprentice training program had 264 apprentices, 17 of whom were Negroes. Twenty-three firms with an informal or on-the-job training program had 23 Negroes included in their 564 trainees.

For the period 1954-56, a Building Trades Survey which covered 198 contractors reported an informal estimate of 188 Negroes employed by them in 1955-56. An estimate was given of 125 Negroes employed by the same number of contractors in 1945. There were only two Negroes out of a total of 267 apprentices in a formal training program conducted by 103 contractors, and one Negro out of 97 employees working in an informal on-the-job training program.

An Insurance Industry Survey in 1956 covered 74 companies. The survey showed that 802 Negroes, totally accounted for by eight companies, were included in the total of 22,456 persons.

In 1957, a Graphic Arts Survey covering 164 companies showed that 155 Negroes were included in the total employment of 10,967 workers. Seventy-one of these companies had union shops, 24 of which employed 134 Negroes. Of the remaining 93 non-union shops, only 13 employed a total of 21 Negroes.

In 1959, another Industrial Survey reported that among 136 companies covering many types of manufacturing and processing plants, 1,556 employees or 15 per cent were Negroes. This report stated further that "of the 1,556 Negroes employed, 28 were in supervisory positions in factories, 13 were in office work. A substantial number were in skilled and semi-skilled positions, such as: machinists, mechanics, engineers, lathe operators, moulders, cutters, packers, stitchers, finishers, vampers, tool and die, buttonhole makers, die casting, chemists, upholsterers, grinders, forgers, binders, assemblers, hydraulic assemblers, shoe cementers, kiln tester, milling machine operators, pipe fitter, pigment mixer, plating machine feeders and truck drivers".

Personal interviews added another dimension to the view of how Negroes in Boston get a living. Prior to World War II, most Negroes were employed as unskilled workers in service occupations. A former executive of the Urban League of Greater Boston reported that in 1942, 90 per cent of all Urban League placements were domestics. As late as 1953, in a study conducted for the Urban League of Greater Boston by Dr. Warren Banner, it was found that most Negroes still fall in the category of "service workers (except private household)". According to the best information the writer was able to obtain, the majority of Negroes in Boston today are in unskilled job classifications. The difference now is that many more are in semi-skilled jobs.

While Negroes are included in diverse occupations, the extent of penetration is limited in many instances. For example, service establishments have traditionally been a major source of jobs for Negroes. One might expect to find Negroes employed in numbers in Boston hotels in such positions as doormen, bell hops, waitresses and chamber maids, as in many cities throughout the country. Paradoxically this is not true in Boston. With a few exceptions, Negroes are employed in only three of the larger hotels. In most cases if there is one Negro doorman or bell hop in these hotels, then all of the doormen and bell hops within that hotel are Negroes. In some cases, there is one white person in charge. It might be noted that 30 years ago, there were three times as many Negroes employed in hotels in Boston.

Other service establishments in which Negroes may be found employed, usually in the lowest job classification, are hospitals, laundries and restaurants. They hold such positions as orderlies, ward maids, shakers and extractor operators, bus-boys and dishwashers. Other service jobs in which Negroes are to be found include elevator operators and domestics.[1]

Before 1949, there were no Negro taxi drivers in Boston. Today, there are scores of Negroes working as taxi drivers. They are found working for every taxi cab company in Boston except one, which hires neither Negroes nor union members.

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[1] Certain social welfare problems have arisen in the past few years in connection with the employment of Negro girls from the South as domestics in suburban homes in the Greater Boston area. This is the result of a combination of factors. It is part of the general South-to-North migration. It has come about through genuine interest or exploitation (or both) on the part of certain employment agencies. It is also due in part to the desire of suburban housewives to get cheaper help. It is significant to note that this is one of the last vestiges of domestic work. It serves as a "port-of-entry" for these girls until they can find employment in factories or other jobs.

These Negro girls face the same basic problems as the white girls who came to work in the textile mills and households of the 19th century. The problems are loneliness, little education, limited opportunities for intellectual development, limited knowledge of Boston's resources and of urban conditions in general. Boston becomes the focal point for their social interests, for help in finding other jobs and for whatever social welfare assistance they need.

Many Negro men are employed by construction firms, but usually at the bottom in such unskilled classifications as hod carrier in brick masonry; bottom man in ditch digging; sand hog in sewage pipe construction; hot man in asphalt road construction. Few Negroes are found as carpenters, cabinet makers, stone masons, brick layers, cement finishers or other skilled positions. Traditionally, these top positions within the construction industry have been monopolized by a few people and held for their sons or their friends' sons by the incumbents who are members of craft unions in the construction trades.

There are relatively few Negroes employed in the transportation, communication and utilities industries in Boston. The few who are employed are limited primarily to transportation where, except for private shipbuilding companies, they are under government classification. Since the Metropolitan Transit Authority has become a political subdivision of the Commonwealth, Negroes for the first time have been hired as bus and train operators, collectors and starters. One Negro serves as an attorney for the MTA. Except for the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company, the utility companies in Boston are conspicious for their lack of Negro employees. Until 1945, Negroes were working only as elevator operators and porters for the New England Tel. & Tel. Co. Today, they are working in clerical positions, as local and long distance operators and supervisors; one is an installer (he is a former lineman) and one an engineer. The latter two have been with the company since 1947.

Rubber and leather manufacturing and processing firms show a much higher number of Negroes, both male and female, among their employees. Rubber heel and sole manufacturers, shoe manufacturers and hose manufacturers have a very good record for hiring Negroes at both skilled and semi-skilled levels. Few Negroes in Boston are employed in chemicals. The same is true of printing and publishing. Two reporters and a commercial artist are employed by daily newspapers. With few exceptions, however, in these industries, Negroes are in such unskilled jobs as laborers, janitors, messengers, stock or supply men. In the garment industry, many of the regular employees are Negroes. They are to be found working as sewing machine and special machine operators, pressers, cutters and other such skilled and semi-skilled positions.

Department stores, particularly the major ones, have a substantial number of Negroes employed as sales clerks, clerical workers, stock clerks, markers and in other capacities. Negroes are known to be serving in some cases as Assistant Buyers, Service Desk Managers and there is one Jr. Executive. In 1944, there were fewer than three Negroes working in any department store, except as elevator operators and porters.

Many Negro women are working as clerks and typists and some as stenographers in the major insurance companies in Boston. This was not true sixteen years ago. In 1945, no large insurance company had Negroes working in any clerical positions, and they employed only a token number of elevator operators and janitors. These companies do not employ Negro men today as insurance agents, though there may be one or two exceptions. Some Negro men work as janitors and stock clerks.

Banks and large law firms in Boston, with a few exceptions, have steered clear of hiring Negroes. One exception was the employment of a Negro graduate of the Harvard School of Business Administration as an Executive Trainee in a bank. A limited number of Negroes is known to be working as tellers and clerks in a few other banks in Boston. The total is thought to be less than six.

With the expansion of the electronics industry, the demand increased for assemblers of small components, vacuum tubes, transistors, etc. The production of these firms is basically geared to government contracts or sub-contract. Negro women 18 years of age and over, with good finger dexterity and good visual acuity, have been included in this increased job opportunity in the Greater Boston area. Thus, more Negroes are now to be found employed in such plants as Raytheon Laboratory for Electronics Corporation, Electronics Corporation of America, Hermetite Corporation. Many car pools are operated for the benefit of employees and partially subsidized by the employer. In some instances, employers have made arrangements with local transportation agencies to run special buses to transport their employees who live in Boston to and from work on the early morning shift and on the evening shift.

Increasing numbers of Negroes are entering the drafting and engineering departments of these electronic firms. It is felt that qualified Negroes have no problem of being hired. Along the circumferential highway, Route 128, and its adjacent industrial centers, the open-hiring policy is more fully observed today than it was ten years ago. This is due in great measure to the following factors:

1. The requirements to get the contracts completed on time.
2. The scarcity of engineers and technicians.
3. The President's Committee on Fair Employment in Firms with Government Contracts.
4. The increasing influence of the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination.

One remaining area of substantial employment opportunities for Negroes is in government--national, state, county and city.

One of the earliest fields open to Negroes in Boston involving other than menial work was that of clerk in the City or State government. Many of the most influential Negroes in Boston today are employed or have been employed by the Federal, State or city government either on a full-time or part-time basis. The range includes clerk-typist, supervisor, members or chairmen of commissions, boards and heads of departments.

Labor unions have some effect on the efforts of Negroes to get a living. The 1953 Banner Survey for the Urban League of Greater Boston stated that "the extent to which local unions are controlling factors in the employment or exclusion of Negro workers in major industries in the Boston area has not been determined. There is need for additional inquiry on the relationship of the Negro to organized labor".[1] That need still exists in 1961. No survey is known to have been made on the number of Negroes in unions in Boston. There is a widespread feeling, however, that unions in the building and construction trades have for the most part excluded

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[1] Warren M. Banner, "A Study Relating the Program of the Urban League of Greater Boston to Community Patterns," Urban League of Greater Boston, Nov. 19-Dec.16, 1953

Negroes.' At the other extreme, there is an all-Negro local of the International Longshoremen's Association in Boston. A large number of Negroes are known to be members of such industrial unions as I.L.G.W.U., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the United Packinghouse Workers, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, Loc. 277, and the Building Service Employees International Union. Indications are that more Negroes hold membership in the CIO locals than in the AF of L affiliates. The fact that the CIO organizes whole plants while the AF of L places its emphasis primarily upon organizing individual trades supports the indication that more Negroes would be found in the CIO. However, quite a few CIO local unions are known to have very few or no Negroes among their membership. According to Herbert Hill, National NAACP Labor Secretary "efforts to eliminate discriminatory practices within trade unions have been piecemeal and inadequate and usually the result of protests of civil rights agencies acting on behalf of Negro workers. The National AFL-CIO has repeatedly refused to take action on its own initiative"[1].

Substantial evidence indicates that Negroes encounter discrimination in labor unions in Boston in the following ways: (1) outright exclusion, particularly in the building trades where membership remains a condition of employment; (2) segregated locals and (3) exclusion from apprenticeship training programs controlled by labor unions. Until these restrictions are removed, Negroes will continue to find it difficult to improve their economic status in Boston.

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[1] Herbert Hill, "Racism Within Organized Labor: A Report of Five Years of the AFL-CIO, 1955-1960," p.1

Because of the accelerated technological changes in our nation's economy, because automation is eliminating many of the traditional jobs to which Negroes have been relegated, and for other reasons, it becomes increasingly important that apprenticeship training programs be opened to Negro youth in order to utilize the potential of these young people for their benefit and that of society. Serious attention must also be given to retraining those older Negro workers whose limited skills now bar them from more skilled and therefore better paying jobs. This "retooling" is urgently needed for Negro workers who are unemployed as a result of automation and other technological changes.

At the professional and business level, Negroes fare about the same as those in other Northern metropolitan areas of similar size. There are a few engineers operating their own business. A few engineers and draftsmen are employed by other firms. Prior to World War II, the Negroes who graduated from engineering schools in Boston found themselves forced to go South to teach in Negro colleges. One notable exception was the employment by Bethlehem Steel of a Negro who graduated from MIT, in 1938. It was the defense training program and the subsequent need for skilled workers that brought about the employment of Negroes as engineers and draftsmen by Boston firms.

The number of Negroes employed in municipal government in Boston has for many years been disproportionately low. This may have been a reflection of the Negro's lack of political strength in the City.

There are 42 Negroes serving as policemen in Boston. Twenty-five are attached to Stations 9 and 10, both located in Roxbury. There were no Negroes serving in this capacity between 1919, the date of the famous policemen's strike in Boston, and 1940. Prior to World War II, there were not more than five Negroes employed as firemen; one of them, however, was a captain. Today, there are between eight and twelve Negroes employed as firemen and attached to stations throughout Boston.

In public housing, where Negroes constituted 13 per cent of the total number of residents in 1959, less than 4 per cent of the total personnel at the present time are Negroes. Out of approximately 675 regular employees in public housing, less than 30 of them are Negroes. Not one of the housing managers is Negro. Of the total number of Negro employees, there is one assistant manager, one assistant superintendent of maintenance, one social worker, two secretaries, three clerks, and the rest are employed as maintenance men. In 1960, a Negro was appointed to the Boston Housing Authority for the first time. At the State level, a Negro has held a prominent position with the State Housing Board since 1948. At the present time, he is serving as Director of the State Housing Board.

More information is needed to ascertain to what extent Negroes are being employed in Greater Boston in professional positions relating to physics, chemistry and technology -- new areas of employment opportunities. However, it can be stated generally that in both public and private professional settings, few Negroes in Boston are employed in positions of high responsibility. Even where problems confronting the Negro add to the difficulties of planning, such as in housing, Negroes are usually excluded altogether or brought in at a lower level of responsibility.

The employment picture pertaining to doctors, nurses, social workers and other professionals in the health area will be dealt with in the section on "Health Conditions". As to other professionals, 37 of the lawyers in Boston are Negro. There is a deplorably small number of Negroes teaching in the colleges and universities in the Greater Boston area. For employment opportunities for Negroes in the Boston Public School System, see the section on "Education".

As in other cities with an increasing Negro population, Boston is seeing an increase in the number of barber shops, beauty parlors and cleaning and pressing plants within the Negro community. There are fewer restaurants and funeral parlors in Boston than in some other metropolitan areas. There is a representative number of real estate brokers. No Negro insurance companies exist in Boston. There is no Negro bank; the Boston Progressive Credit Union is the nearest approach to one.

Conclusions

All available evidence indicates that the majority of Negroes in the labor force in Boston are still employed in the category of unskilled workers. There is an increasing number working at a semi-skilled and skilled level, but there remains a serious occupational gap between the white and non-white segments of Boston's total labor force. There are only a few Negroes in responsible positions and large numbers who labor at menial tasks. The blue collar and semi-professional jobs that are open to the average white American constitute the missing link in the non-white labor force. Education, proper guidance and the inclusion of Negroes in the building trades unions are necessary tools for bridging this gap.

The professional and business status of the Negro in Boston tends to reflect the City's relatively small Negro population. Well-qualified Negroes are excluded from many high-level positions and from many boards of health and welfare agencies. Historically Negro laymen and professionals for the most part have been excluded from the initial planning of services that would affect a large number of Negroes. This has amounted to planning for, rather than with the Negro. On the other hand, where no Negro recipients are involved in a service, qualified Negro professionals have also been excluded with the rationalization that the all-white community "would not accept them". Upgrading of Negroes working in such agencies as the Department of Public Welfare, the Boston Public School System and other public agencies is another significant problem at the professional level. Exclusion, lack of up-grading, and the dependence of Negro business and many professionals upon the Negro community for support, are all evidence of the resistance of the Boston community to accepting the Negro into the mainstream of American life.

PART III

THE NEGRO AND THE CHURCH

Community Programs in the Churches
The Muslim Movement

EDUCATION

Background
The Pre-school Child
The Public School
Parochial Schools
After High School

THE NEGRO AND THE CHURCH

"The Church has been, and continues to be, the outstanding social institution in the Negro community. Its functions exceed meeting the spiritual needs of its congregations. It provides an effective organization of the group, an approved place for social activities, a forum for free expression on many issues, an outlet for emotional repressions, and contributes to planning for social existence of its members. These attributes are magnified within the church setting as a result of their curtailment in the world outside for the Negro."

Though written at least 30 years ago by Charles S. Johnson in "Growing Up in the Black Belt", these words in large part still characterize the role of this institution in the Negro ghettoes of America. Historically, the Church has its roots in the frustrations of these people; bound in slavery, they used the medium of religion as one means of adapting to their restricted world. Several studies describe the development and the social and psychological significance of the rise of the Negro church.

Suffice it to say briefly that the Church has served as a spiritual resource, and as a counter-balance to oppressive social and economic conditions. There was solace to be found through spirituals in the earlier days and the gospel music of later years. The Church also represented an institution through which fellowship and sociability developed with members of the group, leading to a sense of race consciousness. In the spirit of fellowship, the young musical artists particularly were launched, and supported by their congregations until the breakthrough came into the outside community.

The Negro family as an institution has been exposed to a variety of stresses and strains over the years which have tended to emphasize its fragileness.

The Church, as one major stable institution in the community, became a major source of support and strength for individuals in families who were limited. For some of these families the church has become somehow incorporated into the fabric of family life in such a way as to substitute for deprivation. It is here the resources are to be found for help in meeting the serious hardships of life -- marital problems, children in trouble, unemployment, illness.

Within the Church, the Negro over the years has had opportunities to develop leadership and gain status, though most often limited to the Negro group. However, from the platform of the Church have also come many of the race's spokesmen on the National scene. In some communities, one would find the leading civic and community figures identified with outstanding Protestant churches of various denominations. It is well to remember that the Negro church frequently is the only major institution housed in a facility owned exclusively by Negroes. Pride is always manifested when the mortgage is burned.

For 20 years or more, the promotion of new ideas, the financial support sought for social causes, the boycotting of firms with discriminating practices, and other causes, gain immeasureably by securing the active support of ministers and their congregations. This rests on the fact that the Negro church still reaches the greatest number of individuals within one institution. It is also primarily through the Negro church that interest in and a sense of brotherhood with Africa were stimulated via the missions of the Church.

There is another aspect of the urban church which is relevant to this discussion. "Adventurous Preaching"[1] eloquently portrays the metamorphosis of the city from refined residential neighborhoods to decaying slums, with hordes of people new to city-life. In the face of these changes many a minister has found himself facing empty pews. The concept of "inclusion" has received special attention in teaching and in the development of the present functions of the urban church. This concept fully recognizes that neighborhoods are changing and are heterogeneous in terms of race, income, education, and culture. Ministers in many Protestant churches are strongly urged to "include" families and individuals of the areas in which their churches are located, for spiritual and community services. Further, the inner-city church has been seeking new paths for relating the faith to problem-solving activities associated with the complexities of urban living. Much is made of planning and action to deal "effectively" with juvenile delinquency, mental illness, alcoholism, and destitution.

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[1] "Adventurous Preaching", James H. Robinson, The Lyman Beecher Lecture at Yale, Channel Press, Great Neck, New York, March, 1956.

It is against this backdrop that Boston churches with predominantly Negro membership will be viewed. There will be no attempt to give the distribution and size of all churches in this category, nor of all the varieties in program. A cursory view of the major churches is all that is intended, with recognition of the fact much more material will be available with intensive study.

Negroes in Boston are to be found in every denomination and religious cult. This is not uncommon. Protestant churchs predominantly have claimed the largest numbers and have come to be known as the Negro churches. Pentecostal and evangelical churches in urban centers have flourished to the point where a few now have major congregations. The Muslim group, through not generally considered in a religious frame of reference, develops some of its doctrines from sections of the Old Testament. As a movement in this country it has gone far in appealing to mass groups in other ways. A separate report on the Muslims is appended.

International Orthodox Moslems do not have a sizeable group in Boston. Catholicism since World War II has gained substantial numbers of Negroes in certain parishes in Roxbury and the South End. Faiths such as Christian Science, Jehovah's Witness, Seventh Day Adventists, have stable cores of Negro participants in varying numbers. Unitarian, Lutheran and Episcopal churches in the central city, as well as Boston University Chapel, have a few Negro members and followers.

The churches with Negro membership are located throughout the South End and Lower Roxbury with a few scattered in Upper Roxbury. Until very recently, after the surge of migration of 1957-58 to Upper Roxbury, most of the Protestant "Negro churches" were in Lower Roxbury.[1] A few of them decided to relocate. There have been references made in the community that discussions about merger were held by a few Negro churches with white parishes of the same denominations whose memberships had dwindled. No step was actually taken in this direction at that time. Therefore, within the last three years, several old congregations, totally Negro, have acquired buildings south of the Dudley Street Terminal. St. Mark Congregational Church remains the oldest Protestant church serving primarily the Upper Roxbury community.[2] All of these churches draw on members outside of Boston proper.

The number of Protestant (including Pentecostal) churches with large Negro congregations is estimated to be 30. Membership rolls for some of these churches may reach between 1,500 to 2,000 individuals. For the most part, these churches date back at least 50 years. The history of Peoples' Baptist goes back 156 years, beginning in the West End. Charles Street A.M.E. is another one of the older parishes in the West End where the Negro population first settled in Boston.

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[1] Lower Roxbury is considered the area between Dudley Terminal going north to Massachusetts Avenue, bounded by Columbus Avenue and Washington Street.

[2] Upper Roxbury, in this connection is the area south of Dudley Terminal to Seaver Street, bounded by Washington Street and Warren Street, Grove Hall to Blue Hill Avenue.

It was not until after World War II that this church moved to its present location in Upper Roxbury.

Major congregations with an average Sunday attendance of 400-750 are:

Ebenezer Baptist
Peoples' Baptist
Twelfth Baptist
Concord Baptist
Charles Street A.M.E.
St. Mark Congregational
St. Cyprian's Episcopal
Columbus Ave. Zion A.M.E.

Information about the size of the pentecostal groups has not been secured. However, in the Roxbury area there are at least six of these churches with large structures instead of the familiar store front or the common "2nd story over a store" arrangement. These churches have a substantial following and a certain stability in their ministry, in the congregation, and in their physical location. Store front churches dot the area, but not in large numbers as in other major cities. The Geneva-Quincy area, which absorbed one of the greatest migrations of people from outside the city and from the South End, has only one Protestant group, Southern Baptist, which seems to have sprung up primarily under one individual's leadership first in Lower Roxbury.

It is generally thought that Catholicism has been on the increase among Negroes in Boston since World War II. Nevertheless, Catholics constitute only five per cent of the Negro population, according to a 1960 estimate by the Urban League of Boston. The Urban League estimated that there was a faithful core of about 3,000 Negro Catholics and an additional 2,000 persons who may be considered Catholic but not strict in their religious observance. From the Urban League report and from an interview with a curate in the community it was learned that there are at least eleven parishes with some Negro communicants. The membership of Negroes in major Catholic congregations is given in the following table:

TABLE I

NEGRO MEMBERSHIP IN MAJOR CATHOLIC CONGREGATIONS

	Families	Individuals
St. Francis de Sales	-	250
Cathedral of the Holy Cross	100	300-400
Holy Trinity	not known	not known
St. Joseph's	80	200
St. Mary's of the Angels	55	150
St. Richard's	-	300
St. John's - St. Hughes	300-350	1000
Basilica of Our Lady of Perpetual Help (Mission Church)	25	100
St. Phillip's	-	60-75
St. Mary of the Annunciation	20	-
Blessed Sacrament	-	80-100

The St. John's-St. Hughes district has received the newest migration to Roxbury.[1] A continuous census is made of all Catholic families, as well as a spiritual census noting children without baptism, poor marriages according to church standards, etc. St. Francis de Sales in Lower Roxbury is in an area where the city has carried out its program of demolishing condemned buildings. Consequently, there has been a shifting population in this area. Public notice has been given that the Holy Trinity parish school building is to be demolished during the urban renewal program and that the parish priest will be assigned elsewhere. These announcements mean a real loss for the 100 boys in the drum and bugle corps and for many of their parents since this activity has been a substantial one in their lives for a number of years.

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[1] Julian Street to Waverly along Warren; Wenonah to Humboldt over to Seaver Street to Blue Hill Avenue to Gleneroy; Columbia Road to Ceylon Street to Quincy, Dachia, Judson back to Julian.

A small number of Protestant churches in Roxbury operates on the "inclusion" principle. It has not been possible at this writing to acquire data on the size of these churches. In the South End the Church of All Nations (Morgan Memorial) has both an "inclusive" congregation and ministry. The Church of the Good Shepherd, St. Stephan's and Tremont Street Methodist have also implemented this doctrine. Within the very recent past, the Tremont Street Methodist Church has made drastic changes in practice and attitude toward its neighborhood. An active minister is reaching out into the community and has made a substantial contribution to the church's new role. Instead of taking the path that would lead to a loss of vitality due to a small commuting congregation, the church is gaining prestige and respect for working in the interests of people in its immediate environment. These South End Methodist churches, including Union Methodist, have joined in a loosely-organized group to coordinate and plan their community programs more effectively.

In Roxbury there are at least six churches which have followed the "inclusive" policy for varying lengths of time.[1] At St. John's and St. James almost three-quarters of each congregation now consists of Negroes; ten years ago this group was absent from the latter. These two churches also have an "inclusive" ministry and reach families of varying socio-economic groups. St. John's Episcopal Church has a Spanish-speaking Protestant group of newcomers to Boston. A young Cuban trained in theology and recently ordained in St. Paul's Cathedral was initially assigned to work with this group.

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[1] Eliot Congregational, Highland Congregational, Roxbury Presbyterian, Emmanuel Lutheran, St. John's and St. James Episcopal. St. Mark's Congregational Church applies this policy mainly to its recreational program.

Lines of communication between one grouping of churches and another seem to be lacking, i.e., between Protestant Negro churches and Roman Catholic, between "inclusive" Protestant and Roman Catholic parishes, between Protestant Negro churches and the Pentecostal and Evangelical churches. This is not unusual. Allegiances and channels of communication are vertical within the different church hierarchies, both locally and nationally. The result is a lessening of interdenominational influence in Roxbury and the South End on significant issues which affect the population. This point is further borne out by analyzing the membership and activities of the three ministerial associations. An Evening Conference of Baptist Ministers is made up of those men who serve the Pentecostal and Holiness churches. It is said most of them have not had theological training in an accredited school or seminary. They do not belong to the Inter-Denominational Ministerial Alliance of Greater Boston. These ministers have status and recognition within their own groups which might not be possible to achieve as members of the latter organization. At least two ministers from the Pentecostal churches have been known to join in community action to ban a liquor store and to protest the discontinuance of a transit bus service. But, on the whole, they do not act as a group or individually with other ministers on community problems. As a group they did collect substantial monies which were sent to Montgomery, Alabama, during the bus boycott of a few years ago, indicating a strong identification with the cause of freedom of their Southern brethern.

The Inter-Deonominational Ministerial Alliance of Greater Boston until the last three years was an all-Negro group. The minister of St. James Episcopal was invited to membership and is now secretary of the organization. The Inter-Denominational Ministerial Alliance of Greater Boston, composed of about twenty-five ministers, draws its membership from the metropolitan area. Its monthly meetings have been devoted to theological subjects and some community issues which interest them. On two occasions the group made known its position on fair housing legislation and legislation to provide insurance for home owners in the Roxbury-South End area. However, it is not known as an action-oriented group. Organizations in the community have confined their contacts with the ministers' group to presenting information about coming events in the community. Occasionally the sanction of the group is sought on some issue, but is not forthcoming as the group does not consider this to be its function. Three informants strongly urged a more direct use of ministerial leadership in community life. There was a feeling that "leaders" outside the church frequently by-passed the clergy or came "after the fact" to seek an endorsement rather than their involvement in a community project.

The Roxbury Ministers' Association occasionally meets with the South End Association; both these groups are Protestant. Seven or eight of the ministers in the Inter-Denominational Alliance also belong to the Roxbury group. Informants indicated the latter Association could be used for disseminating information. Efforts to merge the Inter-Denominational Alliance with the Roxbury and South End Associations have failed. In the last five years there have been special worship programs at Thanksgiving and Easter which all these groups have sponsored.

Community Programs in the Churches

A brief review of programs within certain churches will illustrate aspects of the Negro Church in action and the concept of the modern urban church. Information was gained in interviews with several ministers and priests and from the writer's observations during the past fifteen years. In no way should this be considered an exhaustive study, but only an indication of the work as developed by a few of the major religious institutions.

An overview of these programs indicates that all of them include some form of:

1. Recreation for youth.
2. Education of youth, aside from the Sunday School and church-oriented youth programs. Scholarship aid appears as a common endeavor.
3. Family counseling.
4. Ministers' activities in all types of community services.
5. Cultural programs in which musical talent is recognized through concert programs. Popular gospel singers are brought from other areas and sponsored for community programs.

Only a sampling of churches is discussed here since the writer did not have an opportunity to discuss the details of the church program with each of the ministers interviewed. It is known that the activities listed above are generally typical of programs developed over a period of years as a regular part of the churches' activities. Some churches are actively concerned with welcoming newcomers into the community. St. John's Episcopal Church has reached out for the past few years to the Spanish-speaking Protestant arrivals, conducting services in Spanish as part of the regular religious service. Special efforts have been directed to including them in community programs in this parish. The St. John's -

St. Hugh's Parish indicates it serves primarily an area whose newest people are Negro. Through the work of three curates in the field, they estimate that each year they have reached 100 new persons, most of them Negroes, for instruction in the last three years.

Charles St. A.M.E. Church in Upper Roxbury instituted a registration of all newcomers by attaching a form in the church bulletin each Sunday. Further steps were taken by the minister to make immediate contact with these individuals and then to request their presence at a weekday church program within the week of acquaintance. A type of big brother or big sister is assigned to each newcomer at this session and makes it his business to introduce the new person into church programs for adults and youth. This church's figures for newcomers showed an average of just 100 per year for each of the last six years. It is important to note here the minister's observation that a good many of these persons were recent arrivals from Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, Florida, North Carolina, Mississippi. Further, he observed that many of his new parishioners have a wide range of employment skills and come with college education from Negro schools in the South.

In 1960-61 the Negro Church, in strategic Southern and some Northern communities, has marshalled its forces in a vigorous civil rights effort. Negro churches and their leadership in Boston are visible in their pronouncements too, though their efforts are primarily directed towards highlighting the plight of the Southern masses and in voicing protests on national civil rights legislation and issues. The churches provided the leadership for the National Prayer Pilgrimage on Civil Rights in recent years. Recently Negro ministers were among those who brought pressure on the MTA authorities to continue the Warren Street line in Roxbury. Two of the Episcopal Churches which have become identified as "inclusive" and enveloping the urban church concept, St. John and St. James, have been proponents of civil rights through their priests. Political figures have sought public support from the leadership of these churches on the assumption that their congregations would follow suit.

One of the most unique educational ventures offered to the community has been the After-School Study program of St. Cyprian's Episcopal Church. The program operates on the assumption that there are children who need tutoring in elementary school and high school subjects and others whose families are not able to provide some of the cultural opportunities and learning incentives. This program, now in its second year, has had the help of elementary public school teachers and young university students and is headed by a person trained in educational methods. This is a community service which meets a real need.

Children of the parish as well as of the immediate neighborhood are students in the program. This means that the project serves all sections of Roxbury though attendance is limited. While it was true at first, according to the priest, that some children were enrolled who did not need so much of this kind of help, the church is now able to bring in more students who do. Parental support has not been as strong as was expected; in the opinion of the sponsors of the school, this is a handicap. A major burden is finance. A few civic organizations have sponsored youngsters for a year or donated monies for supplies but a sound financial base has not been developed.

This project is a good demonstration of what could be done under either public school or private auspices.

In the St. John's-St. Hughes' Catholic parish, the curate spoke with pride of two outstanding Negro youths of the current year who have been helped by complete scholarships to Regis College for Women and Holy Cross in Worcester.

In recreation there are notable projects. Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Catholic Youth Organizations and band groups flourish under church sponsorship. These activities frequently are confined to members of the church, though this is not always true. In those churches whose membership is primarily middle class, like St. Mark's Congregational, St. James Episcopal and St. John's Episcopal, there have been strenuous efforts made to reach out towards persons of different backgrounds, economically and socially.

While friction regarding this approach is sometimes expressed, there has been a persistent practice by these churches of involving children from the court, from corner gang groups, housing developments families, youngsters whose families receive public assistance, and newcomers. Cooperation exists between the ministers of the Episcopal and Congregational churches and the director of the St. Mark Social Center in their work with these families. St. James, for example, regularly houses some 200-400 young people in teen-age dances and a smaller number in discussion groups. Some of these are known to the priest through his work at the juvenile sessions in the district court. The assistant of the parish and his wife maintain an open door for many of these young people. Through this, young people are frequently exposed for the first time to a stable home where a chance to talk, to listen to great music and to read and study are available. Remarkable achievements have been noted with some of these youths. The ministers are also available for concrete service in seeking employment or legal assistance. Other ministers know some of the same people in their churches and are helping them on an individual basis with particular problems or in groups associated with the work of the church.

With the financial and spiritual backing of the policy-makers in the leadership of the Episcopal Church, St. John's Church a few years ago instituted a community program on a broader basis than earlier. It included recreation programs to reach more of the children from the housing development in the area and the homeless men, especially alcoholics, as well as providing counsel and referral help on housing, social and legal problems to persons who are not members of the church, but reside in this low-income neighborhood. The staff were volunteers but were professionals in their respective fields. This again demonstrated the effectiveness of reaching out and of being accessible through the neighborhood church.

By their activities and pronouncements, a few of these churchmen convey an image of the ministry's concern for the whole man - his spiritual life, his standard of living and his value system. For example, encouragement and resources are brought to bear not only in illness, death, legal and marital problems but also in finding employment, acquisition of property, and insurance coverage, especially medical. People are helped to acquire a family Bible. The Negro churches and Catholic parishes concern themselves primarily with their parishioners, while a few of the Protestant "inclusive" churches have attempted to develop the urban church concept of reaching out into the community. It is clear that the total number of persons affected by churches in one way or another is substantial. Study of the ways in which the Pentecostal and Evangelical churches assist their members should be made to give a fuller picture of the role of the church in the lives of Negroes. Further examination is needed to understand how extensively and effectively all churches are reaching the recent arrivals in Boston.

Nearly all of the large Negro Churches have housed community programs of one kind or another over the years. It is particularly common for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to hold a public meeting or or a monthly membership meeting in a church. Reference has been made to musical concerts and to the gospel singer programs. The Elks Lodges, Women's Federations of Clubs, and Church conventions use Church facilities extensively. For the most part, however, the facilities are used by various church organizations meeting weekly or monthly, rather than for large and frequent community events.

Some Negro ministers have served on community boards, Governors' committees, study committees on racial problems set up by legislative or executive action, State welfare boards and the Massachusetts Youth Service Board. Frequently these individuals are selected because ministers are felt to be representative and non-controversial community figures. Some of these men have served extensively in their own church denominational affairs within the city. Distinctive positions are held by a few Negroes in the field of religion, namely, the Director of Religious Education of the Massachusetts Council of Churches, the Archdeacon in the Episcopal Diocese, and the Dean of the Boston University Chapel. One minister has been awarded a distinguished award in the literary field for poetry.

In preparation for the paper the writer attempted to ascertain the observations of a selected group of clergymen and persons active in religious affairs regarding the impact of the church on community life in Boston, especially as related to issues affecting the lives of Negroes. Some of their observations are stated as follows:

1. Negroes apparently have been lulled into a false sense of well-being in Boston over the years as a result of certain freedom of movement on transit lines, in theaters, stores, restaurants and hotel accommodations. With no dramatic crisis occurring in the field of race relations in Boston since World War II, there has not been a need to respond to an emergency or to mobilize and test the strength of the Negro group.

2. Within individual churches and from their leadership there have been sporadic drives to remove injustices and to develop relevant programs within the church structure that would deal piecemeal with one or another social ill. However, strong, continuous and united action has been lacking, largely due to the lack of financial resources and technical and professional help rather than a lack of awareness.

3. It is still true that some civic leaders find an active leadership role in church affairs is useful as an adjunct to their continued influence in the community. However, observations are made that increasing numbers of influential people maintain nominal church membership; their status and position in the community are independent of their church affiliation. A third aspect of the picture is the fact that some leaders who live within the Negro community are not identified with any Negro church. In the opinions as expressed, these conditions lessen the effectiveness of the church in maintaining a significant role of leadership.

It is important to point out that large numbers of persons within congregations still depend primarily on counsel and leadership from the minister.

While the informants did point to the fact that some individuals were identified with so-called white churches in the core city or elsewhere, they did not relate this phenomenon to an historical perspective. For over 100 years, in a number of Protestant churches, there have been Negro families who were members. It is, therefore, not an uncommon step for them to receive individuals or families in 1961 who seek affiliation. On the other hand, it does mean that these individuals, who are frequently seen as leaders in community life, are inaccessible to a Negro church and its minister.

4. The lack of communication between the various church groupings on common community issues seems to contribute to this less effective role of the church.

5. It is important to note the fact that certain Protestant ministers have indicated an interest in taking advantage of finances available under the housing law, particularly for the elderly, and under urban renewal. Their interest is associated with the effects of these programs on the location of their churches and on their members who live in urban renewal areas. Leadership in welfare matters, especially housing, has been evidenced by Catholic churches in Boston for many years.

The Muslim Movement

Perhaps one of the best illustrations that the Negro in Boston suffers some of the same frustrations and deprivations of Negroes elsewhere is the existence here of an active Black Muslim group. This group which holds its meetings in a large converted house on Intervale Street in Roxbury is one of the better known congregations in the rapidly growing Black Muslim movement in this country. The Boston group has made substantial progress during its seven years of existence here.

The Black Muslim movement has recently received considerable national publicity in several television shows and through the publication of a readable and well-documented book, "Black Muslims in America" by Eric Lincoln. William Strickland's honor thesis at Harvard University on the psychological basis of this movement is another resource for students and community workers to consult. Local newspapers and national periodicals have covered their development as well.

The movement began about thirty years ago in Detroit, then moved to Chicago which has become headquarters for its leader, Elijah Mohammed and from which he controls his followers. Most of the major urban centers in the North and several in the South with large Negro populations are where the groups are flourishing. Each local group has a leader chosen by Elijah Mohammed; loyalty to Elijah is expected by this core group of individuals.

The Temple of Islam claims to be a branch of Orthodox Mohammedanism and Elijah Mohammed claims also to be a descendant from the Prophet Mohammed; he further has made the expected pilgramage to Mecca. Eric Lincoln describes the nature of the organization as being a unique movement: "a dynamic social protest that moves upon a religious vehicle".[1]

Muslim doctrine essentially deals with two elements: (1) developing group identification and raising the self-respect of the black man, and (2) dramatizing the social and economic injustices that infringe on the lives of Negroes. The latter is done with anger and bitterness and impatience. In this respect, Muslims are at one extreme of the spectrum of protest, with the traditional Negro church at the other. Muslim core members are usually quite vocal about social and economic injustices. They are clear about supporting "black business"; they seem to be less specific about methods they would use to attain the ultimate goal of a separate society -- except for the suggestion that four or five states in this country should be set aside for this purpose.

The Muslim movement appeals strongly to Negroes with low incomes, the unskilled and unemployed, and to embittered men, some of whom have had prison experience. It gains strength from the fact that it gives these people a sense of worth, of belonging and of "superiority" which they have never known. Many times some of these persons are those whom the average community institution has failed to reach. They have been designated as uncooperative or untreatable and therefore

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[1] Eric Lincoln, "Black Muslims in America", Boston, Beacon Press, 1961.

get lumped in another way as third class citizens. A personal sense of responsibility has been one of the by-products of the Muslim faith: narcotics, alcohol, smoking, breaking the law, promiscuity, are all strongly prohibited by the Muslims. Every effort is made to destroy the stereotype of the Negro as a lazy, lustful person dependent on others for his existence. Indeed its strength may be in its ability to reach out for these segments of the Negro community which other religious groups and other forces have heretofore not been able to influence. Evidence from all sides suggests there has been a growing group of so-called uncommitted Negroes for whom the orthodox institutions and the familiar patterns of adjustment are no longer acceptable.

Locally, the Temple of Islam has received some attention in the press and by a publicized debate at the Harvard Law School Forum. Leader of the New York group, Malcolm X, who unquestionably is the movement's most eloquent spokesman, debated a local Negro attorney prominently identified with the NAACP and the Massachusetts Committee Against Discrimination.

There are no accurate figures on membership nationally or locally. Average attendance per meeting in Boston has been estimated by some of those who have attended to be around one hundred members; membership is considered to be between 200-400 persons. The Boston Muslims are reported to have eighteen business enterprises in operation, including a delicatessen, a barber shop, clothing and furniture stores, a cabinet making factory, two vegetable stands, two superettes, a laundry and a used car lot. Attempts have been made to raise funds for a school, similar to the one which exists in Chicago, but none has yet been organized. In North Dorchester confusion about schooling has persisted as Muslims have publicly discussed their desire for separate educational facilities. The fact that this is an area which is receiving newcomers from within the city primarily, with serious social and economic problems provides a fertile ground for Muslim activity. In addition, racial tensions are magnified in the light of an increased number of lower-income Negroes in an area which had previously had only a small, middle class Negro group. (Note there are a few business and professional Negroes also moving to this area who do not fit this picture.)

Even within the national movement the Boston group has received considerable prominence, deriving from the fact that its members displayed notable dramatic talent. Stimulated by its leader, Lewis X, an accomplished musician, the Boston group has successfully written and produced a play, Orgeno, (Negro spelled backwards). It is a biting satire of the white man's treatment of the Negro and the futility of any Negro adjustment not patterned after the teachings of Elijah Mohammed. It has been presented three times in Boston and New York. One could hardly argue with the major truth of the theme of injustices which it presents. The critical point here is that Boston Negroes were those within the movement who dramatized it.

The Temple of Islam owes some of its growth to publicity, especially the press. Elijah Mohammed became known through his weekly column in the Pittsburgh Courier, which was some time ago discontinued. However, he continues to maintain close touch with the faithful followers through a well-edited newspaper, "Mohammed Speaks". The Boston group seem to be frequently highlighted in this paper.

Time does not permit a discussion of the details of this complicated Negro protest movement. Like other forms of Black Nationalist movements, the Black Muslims have grown out of the frustrations accompanying the search to attain first class citizenship in the United States. Some of the groups have been temporary and of no consequence while others, notably Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" assumed prominence in the 1920's. Another important and relevant factor is the rise of independent nations in Africa and their influence on the American Negro. Within their life time, Negroes in the United States have seen the emergence of leadership and status for black men. Negroes here have suddenly felt the pangs of being lowest on the "totem-pole" and have feared they would remain there unless there was immediate action. Muslims are one of the groups which have capitalized on this sense of despair and have presented their program hoping to attract the disillusioned.

It is important to note the existence of Black Muslims in Roxbury and North Dorchester and to call attention to its program and its strength. As a dynamic group in the community, any plans for community action must of necessity acknowledge its existence, attempt to understand and work with the Black Muslims. Frequently it must be admitted their values and solutions to complicated problems may differ from those of the majority of American Negroes. The controversy, for example, regarding schools is indicative. There are no magical blueprints for working with Muslims in community life. Their anger, vehemence and open expressions of hatred towards white and Negro leaders probably will be uncomfortable, irritating and shocking to those who come in contact with them. Responses are apt then to be in fear and anger towards Muslims. This does not leave the door open for any reasonable communication.

Nevertheless this writer suggests it is important to find ways to communicate with Muslims in the community. This will be particularly true for workers in the physical and social renewal programs in Boston. These workers need to understand that basic for the whole movement is the protest about things which hurt these people the most in our society. There needs to be a careful and objective analysis of their techniques as a group. This is necessary in order to assess the appropriate "steps" that should be taken in responding to them as a group or as individuals.

"The essence of the Black Muslims movement will endure -- an extreme expression of the American Negro's rising dissatisfaction with the way things are, and his deepening conviction that this is not the way things have to be. We must attack the disease, not its symptoms."[1] Without a doubt the Muslims have made in-roads and will continue to do so as long as there are fires of injustices to Negroes to draw on for the drama of their presentations, and they find Boston fertile soil.

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[1] C. Eric Lincoln, "Black Muslims in America"

EDUCATION

American Negroes like Americans in general have put great faith in education. Throughout the country Negroes, often at great personal sacrifice to their families, graduate each year from the leading academic, vocational and professional schools. They seek their places in society on the basis of such advanced education.

In addition, however, teachers from Southern Negro colleges point to the increasing number of young people who are coming from rural areas and from families with limited financial means. Sacrifices are being made to provide these children with education on the assumption that with academic, trade or agricultural training they will not be limited to domestic service, migrant labor and other unskilled work. Stimulation for this has come from the churches, community groups and the families themselves.

There still remains, however, a group of Negroes for whom higher education is almost an impossibility at the present time. Many children in the South must join other members of their families in working to provide a bare subsistence. In other parts of the country many families, though considered "urbanized", are struggling to survive against many of the economic and social ills which have handicapped them. The stimulus for learning, therefore, is sometimes dormant in light of the mounting and overwhelming odds with which they are faced.

The Supreme Court decisions of 1954 ordering desegregation of public schools in the South became a major turning point affecting the education of Negroes. In the efforts to implement these decisions, national attention has been focused on the schools of the South. Despite the fact that a number of Southern states have appropriated larger sums of money for building new schools as a way of warding off desegregation, educational resources as a whole are still limited. Across the nation large numbers of Negroes have united in advocating a continued "fight" to integrate the Southern schools.

Since the leadership in this effort has been exerted at the national level, there is some evidence that it has also served to turn attention to school problems in the North. Negro leadership was brought sharply to the full realization that segregated public schools also existed in Northern states. This condition had come about, to some extent, by default. The result was a de facto segregation, not legally instituted, but largely the outgrowth and by-product of residential segregation. The solution to this form of segregation calls not for legal measures, but the development of new strategies both within and outside the realm of educational practice.

This problem has recently received much attention and many approaches toward solutions have been proposed by Negro leadership, but these efforts have not received the full endorsement of any large segment within the Negro group. Clearer interpretations are needed regarding the subtle and insidious effects of de facto segregation and of its similarities with legal segregation. Both forms of segregation limit the Negro child (and the white child) to contact only with his own racial group.

Many of the recent immigrants to urban centers are Negroes, mainly from Southern urban and rural areas. These people have varying attitudes about education, depending on the kind of experience and opportunities that have been open to them. Public schools in all cities have had a sudden influx of migrants, but too often the community and its school personnel have not met the problems of these new arrivals, nor differentiated the educational goals, degrees of training and special educational needs among them. With the numbers growing and many schools reaching a crisis situation there has been division, friction and little communication between schools, newcomers and parents of longer residential tenure.

These circumstances exist in different parts of Boston in varying degrees. Certain neighborhoods which are predominantly Negro have been undergoing physical and social changes which have been overwhelming in their magnitude and in their impact on community institutions. The school is one of the major institutions in the community; it is the one in which youngsters spend the greatest portion of their time consistently over a period of years. Therefore it needs to be involved in re-examining the implications of these community problems if it is to develop a stronger, richer educational program. This concept of the role of the school in serving the whole community is not a new one in educational circles. It needs to be developed to its fullest in Boston.

Boston is internationally known as an educational center. To what extent this feature of the city stimulates the drive for education among Negroes is not known. There are many individuals in Boston who originally came for higher education and who have remained. One would expect them to be seeking for their children the educational and other cultural advantages which Boston offers. One would also expect a drive for education among families migrating North to improve their economic position.

However, over the years sizeable numbers of Negro students from Boston have not been discernible in the universities and other institutions of learning of this area. The student bodies of the universities include Negroes from all sections of the country. However, large numbers of Negro students have never been noted in any of these schools in any one year, though an increase in the number has taken place in the last decade.

It is clear, however, that changing conditions, both nationally and locally, have contributed to a stronger consciousness among Negroes of the value and importance of education. Increasingly today, Negro citizens are concerned and articulate about integration in the schools, about curriculum and counseling programs to meet the needs of Negro youth, about sound physical plants, and in general about stronger, more enlightened school systems.

The Pre-school Child

Attitudes regarding whose responsibility it is to begin the training and education of the pre-school child depend largely on family values. Prior to World War II and the migration of Negro families from the South, it was commonly accepted that the grandmother or another older adult in many of these families had a large share of the physical care of young children. Some training would begin at this point as well.

With the shifts in family structure, the impact of rural-to-urban movement on families in this country, and the influences of urbanization and industrialization resulting in more women at work, day care centers and nursery schools have assumed major importance in the training and care of pre-school children. Current data on the number of Negro working mothers are not available, but the flourishing number of non-profit and proprietary facilities would indicate that this is a sizeable group. There is a need to increase the number of non-profit centers with sound standards for physical facilities and personnel.

A spirit of working for the best interest of the child and his family is apparent in the centers operated in Roxbury by the Associated Day Care Service. Large sums of money have been contributed by parents at the Sunnyside Nursery to purchase equipment and program supplies for the school. The A.D.C.S. centers which are located in primarily Negro areas are integrated in staff and in terms of the children served. In recognition of the fears and suspicion that are attached to probing into family matters, the Associated Day Care centers recommends to its staff that only the most necessary information be requested initially until some relationship has been established between themselves and parents. However, parents are expected to participate in many ways towards the development and growth of the child, in cooperation with the center.

There is great distress regarding many of the proprietary schools located in Roxbury and the South End to which large numbers of Negro pre-schoolers are being sent. Part of the concern stems from the fact that no laws specify standards for facilities, personnel or program though the physical plants are licensed by the Health Department of Boston. There is flagrant disregard of generally accepted standards while exorbitant profits are made from working mothers who need decent and safe places to leave their children. Small children and infants in the same facility have been reported tied to beds to keep them in place: there were so many to care for with so few adults present that this was the measure devised for control. The necessity for both parents to work means that many of them turn to whatever resources are available, even though the fees are staggering.

Another concern has to do with the fact that the proprietary center becomes a tool in the hand of the parent who wishes to divest himself of responsibilities and maintain an anonymity. These places furnish transportation on a day's notice; arrangements can be made by phone; no demands are made of the mother and there is no attention given to family situations.

Without a doubt, passage of a bill to regulate standards for personnel, facilities, program and maximum fees would be an effective way to curb the rapid increase of substandard proprietary places. A State Commission is now studying day care standards and it is anticipated that recommendations for new and constructive legislation will emerge. Given an increase in the number of standard facilities, many parents will then choose these resources over questionable ones.

Note should be made here of the interest expressed by some public welfare workers in young mothers and their pre-schoolers in the Aid to Dependent Children program. In one instance, a worker procured the assistance of the housing development manager and her immediate supervisors to plan activities for a small group within her caseload. The project was designed to train and benefit the pre-schoolers and to provide a special activity for a group of young mothers who were floundering. With the average workload of a public welfare worker, it is more than remarkable to find one who felt the need to define the job in broader terms. This interest, however, should not be left to the accidental creativity of a few workers but should involve the administration and policy group in the Department of Public Welfare. The problems implicit in the situation should be of concern to broad and responsible segments of the community concerned with program planning and implementation in the Department of Public Welfare.

The Public School

Without official access to Boston's public and parochial schools, this material has been gathered from available studies, from informal interviews with interested school personnel, and from parents and observers in the community. First, where do Negro students attend school and what is known about the physical plants themselves?

Boston schools, in general, are old and physically dilapidated and new school construction has been at a minimum. "A sobering point in connection with the report that fire alarms in 164 Boston schools are faulty is how long they've been that way", the Boston Globe stated July 14, 1961. The report of the Center for Field Studies of the Harvard Graduate School of Education had this to say in April, 1953:

"Hyde, Sherwin and Asa Gray Schools in Lower Roxbury were constructed prior to 1884 and their continued use as school plants is not recommended. The Hyde building has a wooden interior, open stairwells, buckling floors and a roof in poor condition. The lack of adequate exit from the small brick enclosed site presents a constant hazard." Hyde School is still in use, as are other buildings which are similarly described in this same report.

The Harvard study makes this observation about school buildings: "Physical conditions of the schools, in which children dwell, might be viewed as even more important in shaping their lives and their attitudes toward life, than is the impact of the work place in the lives and attitudes of adults. Modern business management knows that human beings work better in well-constructed physical environments, provided that the human atmosphere and environment are also favorable. Are these things not even more important to provide for children in relation to their work?"

Table I, which appears at the end of this section of the report, dramatizes the fact that Negro youth attend school in outmoded physical plants. Coupled with the fact that the housing in which Negro youngsters live is also less desireable, one can readily understand their feelings about the depressing atmosphere associated with the physical structures surrounding them.

Table II lists Boston schools with a high proportion of Negro enrollment as of 1959-60. Though the St. John study states qualifications concerning the data obtained, it does reflect the general impression prevalent in neighborhoods heavily populated with Negroes.[1] While official statistical counts are unavailable, the opinions are that in fact there are schools which are de facto segregated and that their number has increased in the past ten years.[2]

In the main, de facto segregation results from residential segregation, lax enforcements and transfer permits. The Supreme Court Decisions on Education in 1954 and the studies behind these briefs would establish that equality of opportunity in education is not possible in schools separated by race. The briefs and studies prepared for the presentation of the cases before the Court described the psychological and sociological hazards and limitations arising from racial separation in schools.

Attitudes about how to resolve this pattern vary in Boston. The NAACP nationally, regionally and locally has given this issue high priority. In the summer of 1961 the Boston branch, which had received innumerable complaints on this subject, conferred with the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination for official consideration and action, since the Commission has more formal power at its command. Activities on this front will either win friends of influence within the larger community to speed solutions or there will be subtle obstacles set up to complicate the picture further.

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[1] This list of schools was made on the basis of the estimates of parents, teachers and social workers, and on the basis of a visual count made at several schools. It must be emphasized that these are only "informed guesses" and may easily not be completely accurate.

[2] In addition, the writer spoke with selected numbers of parents, teachers and community persons with regard to the changing racial picture in specific schools in Roxbury and South End; these opinions coincide with the impressions gained from the St. John study.

Realistically speaking, Negroes themselves have grown so accustomed to the school practically around the corner that a great deal of community education may be needed to mount a vigorous assault on de facto segregated schools. Without backing from a substantial number of Negroes, current efforts could be unproductive. The months to come should be enlightening on both scores and will reflect the attitudes of Negro and white community leaders toward solutions of a very complex issue. The Fall of 1961 will see an election of a new School Committee. Some of the influential members of the Citizens for Better Schools feel strongly that de facto segregation is presently a fact in Boston schools and that it should end.

It is necessary to see that de facto segregation in the schools is primarily an expression of residential segregation, otherwise the full blame for the present state of affairs will be placed on the school system alone. The Boston school system has no formal policy of segregating students by race. But on the other hand, the system has no positive program to enhance racial integration. Consequently the effects of population changes have not been in the forefront of their thinking. Some concrete situations will illustrate certain practices in the schools, parental attitudes and the lack of communication between parents and schools.

A great deal of confusion exists concerning the established school policy with respect to the selection of high schools. In recent months some parents in Upper Roxbury have discussed the issue of "area schools", which would appear to mean that students from Lewis Jr. High had no alternative but to select Jamaica Plain High, and that graduates of Patrick Campbell had to accept Dorchester High and Jeremiah E. Burke High.

From all indications to which this writer has access many factors are involved in this confusion. In the past it was true that freedom of choice for high school was in effect. There are now more qualifications being required. Examinations in Algebra and English are prequisites for entrance to Technical High. High scholastic grades in English and one other subject are necessary for entrance to English High; each elementary school is allocated a quota of students for English High; Latin High remains accessible through scholastic achievement. Some schools have major specialties and others are general in curriculum. These latter have become known as area schools, i.e. Jamaica Plain, Burke, Dorchester, East Boston and others.

Apparently, the problems for the schools are further complicated by these facts: some buildings have been closed, some schools have been moved, and the present boom of children from the Korean War era who are ready for High School was not sufficiently anticipated. Facilities are bulging, as a result. In an attempt to recover from an untenable position, many policies are in flux or are being applied differently. The confusion and the lack of information on the choice of high school could easily be corrected, and should be quickly, by the Department in its future communications to parents and community. To cite a concrete situation, parents in Lower Roxbury complained to the local NAACP that their girls were forced to go to Girls' High, which had been located in the South End and later moved to Roxbury, and that Girls' High was fast becoming an all-Negro school. A conference was held in the Spring of 1961 with the principal of Hyde School, who informed the NAACP representatives of the following: School policy calls for intermediate schools for the 7th through 9th grades in keeping with the organizational pattern known as K-6-3-3 (Kindergarten, six years of elementary school, three years of intermediate or junior high school, and three years of high school). Some neighborhoods do not have this arrangement. The Hyde elementary school houses grades seven and eight, but not nine.

The principal stated that girls from the Hyde School are usually sent to Girls' High _for their ninth grade_. There was no reference made to the use of Timilty Junior High School, which is in the immediate vicinity, for the ninth grade. Parents assumed that sending their children to Girls' High for the ninth grade was a restriction in _choice of high school_. Most of the girls attending Girls' High for the ninth grade tend to remain there for the subsequent three years. In practice, then, Girls' High operates as an area high school for Lower Roxbury and the South End though it carries the designation of being a city-wide school.

Observation of Girls' High population suggests that it is approximately 50 per cent Negro rather than the widespread opinion that it has become practically all-Negro. However, if the impression persists that choices are not possible after the 9th grade and if Lower Roxbury and the South End continue to be receiving areas for Negro migrants, then the outcome might well be an ever-increasing proportion of Negro students at Girl's High. It is important that parents be helped to understand that entrance to a particular city-wide high school is dependent on specified qualifications and that their children's educational experience in the elementary grades does not limit their choice to Girls' High.

Another "case study" is worth analysis here. The Harvard study of 1953 made a recommendation to close Roosevelt Junior High School and further recommended that students be assigned to the Mary J. Curley School in Jamaica Plain and Lewis Jr. High in Roxbury. This was based on a study of the condition of buildings, the number of pupils in Junior High, the anticipated increase in student population by districts, and the anticipated building of a new junior high school in the heart of Roxbury.

These recommendations were accepted. Parents of children who had been using the Roosevelt School and who were living at the southernmost tip of Roxbury, were chagrined and felt that discrimination was being leveled at their children. Lewis Jr. High, particularly at that time, was the scene of very poor relations among teaching personnel, parents and students. Police details were assigned after school to control the frequent fights and lack of controls exhibited outside the building. In general, the Lewis School was not considered a desirable institution of learning.

At the time of the Harvard study and its implementation, Roosevelt Junior High School was serving a racially mixed district, its boundaries covering sections of Jamaica Plain and Upper Roxbury. If population trends had been taken into account, serious consideration would have been given to maintaining Roosevelt as a racially mixed junior high school, which would have been feasible despite the increase in Negro population in Upper Roxbury. Instead, what was actually done had the effect of closing a racially mixed school (Roosevelt) and distributing its students in such a way that two new schools became predominantly Negro. (Lewis Junior High and Patrick Campbell Junior High). It could have been anticipated that this would be the result in Patrick Campbell when it was recommended that it serve Roxbury and North Dorchester, since Negroes were beginning to move in numbers to North Dorchester. Because of the location of the Lewis school in a practically all-Negro area, it would have taken considerable planning for it to be other than a school with a high percentage of Negro youth.

If the Boston School System had had a conscious desire to preserve racially mixed schools at that time, then such factors as the racial aspects of population trends would have been taken into account along with other factors. Roosevelt Jr. High might well be in operation today instead of its building being used as English High School Annex. Parents in this section raised a salient issue though it was disguised, as it were, in the outcry of discrimination. If a different kind of communication had existed between parents and schools the problems on both sides might have been aired with understanding and a different analysis and solution might have resulted. This case material is offered in hindsight for use in a future situation. It may be anticipated that with the movement of Negroes continuing to extend beyond Roxbury and the South End, other racially heterogenous communities should develop. The existence of such racially integrated school districts in the future should, at least then be preserved and made use of as assets rather than discarded.

There are feelings throughout the city that the schools are not adequately equipped to prepare youth educationally. These feelings are particularly current in schools which are predominantly Negro. Criticisms are made concerning differences in curriculum among schools, unequal cultural opportunities through the use of trips and TV, and an over-abundance of substitute, inexperienced or "unsuccessful" teachers who are unable to cope with the needs of Negro youngsters. Further, it is felt that some youngsters are presenting special needs which are not recognized, assessed or met within the framework of the school. These feelings are verbalized by both middle and lower income families in Upper and Lower Roxbury and the South End. The facts in the situation are obscured by lack of communication between school personnel and large numbers of parents.

Important to the preparation of Negro youth for their future role of worker and citizen is the breadth of vocational counseling and apprentice training which is offered in early school years. Specific instances constantly indicate that the vocational guidance program in senior high schools is limited in scope and in its imaginative approach to the future employment of Negroes. Counseling in Junior High is practically non-existent. Provisions for remedial reading is spotty and is sorely needed. Apprentice training is also limited.

One parent expressed his view concerning the effect of education in schools which most Negro children attend in these terms: "The teaching and experience are limited in scope and outlook. When an average Negro student moves out for the first time to compete on a broader basis on higher educational levels he is like a man from the Bush Country in Africa taking a Stanford-Binet test in America." Teachers who feel they are doing Negro youth an injustice to open their eyes to broader horizons are as much in error as those whose stereotypes and prejudices permit them to limit choices for Negro youth.

It is valuable at this point to look at another factor which affects the education of Negro children. Mobility has been referred to previously. The effects of mobility are reflected in the study[1] done by Miss Doris Warner in the Dwight Elementary School District in part of the South End bordering Lower Roxbury. The entire study is worthy of serious reflection not only by school personnel but by agencies concerned with community development. Dramatic figures are presented that indicate the high rate of mobility and some of its far-reaching effects for this district, as could also be found in similar districts.

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[1] "A Study of the Mobility of Pupil Population in the Dwight School District and its Underlying Factors", Doris A. Warner. Submitted as a partial requirement for Certificate VI Elementary Jr. High School Principal, July, 1959.

Recent studies and statements from influential people in educational circles on the changing conditions affecting metropolitan school systems are beginning to appear more frequently in current popular magazines. The problems of mobility and of newcomers to urban areas; the effects of ghetto slum living; the impact of working mothers; the increased number of drop-outs; the aftermath of the absent father in family life -- these are a few of the concerns to which leaders in education are turning their attention. Their opinions reflect their understanding of the fact that problems within the school of motivation for learning, of learning, of behavior, delinquency and emotional problems are related in large measure to the problems of the social and economic environment of their pupil population. Large numbers of youngsters show cultural, social, educational and economic impoverishment. Teaching staff experience frustration and discouragement which result in time in indifference, and in teaching staff turn-over in search of more satisfying jobs and better levels of compensation. Administrators are devising impressive school programs to meet some of the effects of these problems "head on".

There were seven other people with whom mobility and its effects were discussed. They were parents and teachers in five different schools in Roxbury and North Dorchester. In each school, with the exception of Hyde, the Negro population has increased substantially within the last five years. All of them have experienced an influx of new pupils with different backgrounds. People, within and outside the school system, are giving serious thought to recent developments. In some instances, there was a profound concern regarding de facto segregation and a drive by some parents to find a way out of this. Some were working through organizations like the Citizens' for Better Schools in Boston and NAACP, while others were securing transfers to other districts or were using private schools. There are others who recognize that this phenomenon exists, but they express their concern around additional realistic problems the schools are facing.

A teacher of long standing in Roxbury spoke passionately against one solution offered for control of de facto segregation, that of providing bus transportation for young children out of the district to arrange for a racially integrated educational experience. She was one of those who was making every attempt to enrich her educational program through the use of television, trips and cooperative ventures between parents and teachers. Her every word bespoke love, a deep interest in the child as a person and in preparing him for his future, with a recognition that his minority group would very much need future leaders.

This teacher saw the necessity for the school system to provide more of the best aids -- sound and attractive buildings, good equipment and fuller opportunities for home visiting. An important purpose of the home visiting would be to reach "non-cooperating" parents and help them find ways to fulfill concrete responsibilities for their children's attendance at school, for seeing that the children have had breakfast, are adequately clothed, that their teeth are in good condition, and that homework is done. Our informant urged better health activities and beginning early to instill a drive for learning and to convey a sense of the worthiness of the individual. Finally, she recommended cooperating much more closely with community institutions on all problems. This person reflected the concern and desire of a good many persons.

One of the real difficulties seems to be that there is not sufficient recognition of the nature of or importance of community changes to enable the school system to give direction, guidance, and sanction to those on the front lines in classrooms, especially in the areas predominantly Negro. The problems seem to be of such a magnitude that it is not enough to have a few committed teachers and principals attempting to work out solutions. Problems growing out of mobility and other community changes are further reflected in the schools in these ways:

1. The lack of discipline and respect for authority is much discussed and reported to occupy considerable teaching time. Staff seems to be overwhelmed by it. Their response to youngsters who present this behavior has often been fear, punitiveness or complete permissiveness. Police have been used outside of some schools in instances when faculty was almost immobilized.

Very little attention seems to be directed towards seeking an understanding of what factors lie beneath the difficulties of these young people. Is it, as some would lead us to believe, that there are static aspects of lower class culture which permit no flexibility in the behavior? Is it related to the intensive pursuit of a permissive pattern in child-rearing practices followed by some parents during the last twenty years? How much is related to the fact that some aspects of educational programs may not be sufficiently geared to the needs of Negro youth? It is worth noting that there has been far less disruptive behavior where authority and discipline have been established and where they have been accompanied by evidence of understanding, friendliness and interest in these youngsters and their problems, as well as concrete aid on special problems.

2. Varying kinds of educational and cultural experiences of many of these children and their parents suggest that the schools develop programs to fit the needs of different groups in the school population.

3. The lack of knowledge by some teachers of the serious impact that physical and psychological and social handicaps have on these youth increases their inability to understand the children coming to their doors.

4. Junior and senior high schools are not geared sufficiently to counseling and training Negro youths for future employment. Too many parents and teachers limit the vocational horizons of youth to the usual jobs of the past which were open for Negroes.

5. The matter of drop-outs is serious at the Junior and Senior High School level. An improved and broadened counseling program including on-the-job training is needed. Young people who "hang" and tend to make the caseloads for delinquent behavior need assistance. Equally important is the role of parents and the necessity of finding ways to work with those who resist efforts to help them with their children's education.

6. The most widespread complaint of parents concerns their not knowing how to straighten out misunderstandings with school personnel and how to find ways of cooperating with the schools. In some instances the NAACP has been utilized for these purposes. Other parents concerned about this lack of communication have become active members

of the Citizens for Better Schools in Boston. In one district parents have organized a group outside of the Home and School Association.

In one school district there is an extremely active Home and School Association which works closely and harmoniously with the principals of the elementary schools. This same group has brought cultural programs to the community and charged fees which provided a scholarship fund for high school graduates who have been products of the district's elementary schools.

7. School adjustment counselors often feel that community agencies do not cooperate with them on problems which they present for help. On the other hand, groups working on community problems find that school personnel are spotty in their attendance and participation.

For the last fifteen years one of the major concerns in the community stems from the fact that Boston has no Negro school principal. This is keenly resented by Negroes, especially in view of the fact that Negroes have been on the eligible list over the years. There are 30-40 Negroes with permanent teaching appointments throughout Boston, There are 30-40 substitute Negro school teachers in the public school system. The appointment of a Negro psychiatrist to the school system evoked interest in the community because of the addition of this professional skill rather than because the person was a Negro.

For the second time in the last fifteen years a Negro woman is running for School Committee in the Fall of 1961. A Negro social worker has also been nominated; he has been endorsed by the Citizens for Better Schools. These candidacies are evidence of a growing public awareness of the stake Negroes have in the educational system.

3

Parochial Schools

One of the interesting things to note is the increasing use of Catholic parochial schools by Negro parents, some of whom are non-Catholic. Seven of the parishes with schools in Roxbury and the South End were reported to have Negroes in attendance. (These parishes are: St. John's, St. Hughes, St. Joseph's, St. Francis de Sales, St. Patrick's, Holy Trinity, St. Phillips.) While numbers were not available for all, it is possible to record that at St. Joseph's and St. John's and St. Hughes schools 132 or about 1/3rd of the children attending are Negro. Notre Dame Academy also has Negro students from Roxbury.

One of the curates felt the numbers were indicative of the Church's positive expressions for the Negro minority through the present Pope and Cardinal Cushing. He felt another incentive was the help given to youngsters in obtaining scholarship aid. He also thought that there is a feeling the parochial schools offer a "better" education than the public schools.

After High School

There is no current information available about the numbers of Negroes graduating from high school and their distribution to schools of higher learning or for technical or business training. In the current year at least 18 students have won substantial scholarships from the colleges of their choice, for their high schools or from community groups. The July 6, 1961 edition of The Roxbury Citizen reported "a total of $2350 was awarded to twelve outstanding students by the Education Committee of the Boston Branch of the NAACP last Wednesday at the annual awards program held in the Robert Gould Shaw House in conjunction with the final Branch meeting of the season".

Other civic, social and fraternal organizations give scholarship assistance. It is common practice for an organization to sponsor a social event -- a dance, supper or bazaar -- and raise funds for this purpose. The amount of money raised is often quite limited, but a sense of support and respect for the youngsters pervades these activities. The National Scholarship Fund for Negroes is used by the NAACP Committee on Scholarships in their effort to provide aid to those interested in technical, business, trade and clerical training.

In this connection it is worth noting, in the same edition of The Roxbury Citizen quoted above, the announcement by the Executive Director of the Urban League that two scholarships had been established by the RCA Institutes, a service of the Radio Corporation of America, to be conferred on two outstanding Negro students in the fields of technology. The scholarships will be valued at more than $2,000 each.

A study of the distribution of High School graduates of recent years and of the jobs they hold might offer clues to educational gaps. This material might also be helpful in promoting an interest among adults in the needs of their schools.

Conclusions

A number of significant subjects have not been adequately considered in this review and future studies should include these in order to give a more complete picture of the education of Negro youth in Boston. These subjects are truancy, vocational guidance, working papers, the use of testing, the extent of Negro enrollment in trade and technical schools, and programs of apprentice and on-the-job training.

By way of summary and conclusions, it should be noted that there is increasing concern about the following matters in connection with public school education: (1) increasing de facto segregation and the effects of this on the education of children, (2) preparation for employment including appropriate curriculum, vocational guidance and on-the-job training, (3) drop-outs, truanting and juvenile delinquency, (4) educational methods that would take into account the mobility of the population and the differences in educational and cultural background among pupils.

Teachers seem to be concerned with stability and security in their jobs and in developing a school system which makes possible more effective teaching. Negro teachers want these things plus opportunities for advancement on the basis of competence and experience.

Since parochial schools are being used increasingly by Negro families, it would seem important for their personnel to use community resources that would help them understand more fully the needs and problems of this minority group.

Within a ten year period in Boston there has been an accelerated development of schools which seem to fit the label of being de facto segregated schools. It would seem then that the Boston school system should be particularly concerned about this phenomenon in terms of studying not only whether it is a fact but in terms of its effect on the education of children for whom the school is responsible. With this kind of clarity, the school and community would be in a better position to plan carefully the elimination of the negative effects.

In 1961, in an urban Northern communtiy, it is necessary for a school systen to develop and state positive policies which would be effective in meeting the present situation. Neither the cause nor the answer to this problem lies exclusively with the school system, but imaginative foresight could roll back the advance of de facto segregation in Boston's schools. In addition, experience from schools in various parts of the United States can be utilized to support the arguments for developing neighborhoods that are heterogeneous in income, class, and ethnic and racial composition. These experiences argue against present restrictive housing practices.

"Higher Horizons" programs have been used in Philadelphia, New York and Cleveland to provide cultural experiences that many children would otherwise not have. These include, for example, exposure to drama and music, trips and other means of stimulating interest in literature and science. Some groups have advocated this program for Boston, especially for schools with large numbers of Negro pupils. Its potential for Boston might well be a specific consideration in the type of study proposed below.

The Boston school system has set up a demonstration project for the gifted child in a few schools. However, there does not seem to be a comprehensive attempt to link school and community in a joint effort on behalf of all children. Suggestions toward this end have been made, such as the use of school buildings for after-school activities and the inclusion of adequate recreational facilities in new school construction. While the field of education cannot be expected to solve all the ills of society, it can make a significant contribution to the realization of democratic ideals. This will require a great deal more study of how the school can most effectively fulfill its double role as an educational system for children and as an institution serving the whole community.

The problems facing any school system in an urban community are enormous -- and Boston is no exception. In terms of education as a whole, it would seem important to study the extent to which achievement of curriculum objectives is being affected by community problems. This calls for joint study on the part of both the school and community groups. It would include reporting to both. Then the dimensions of the problems could be clearly defined and the complementary roles of school and community could be delimited. This suggestion is purposefully stated as one for mutual concern rather than as one appropriate only to the separate entities. If the School Committee-elect were to define its job in broad concepts to include giving educational direction to the system then the above approach could be implemented.

The writer is of the opinion that there is danger if the schools and the community continue to approach, in piecemeal fashion and independently, the problems discussed above. It is far simpler to decide to use a particular technique on one aspect of a problem without full study of its consequences. One danger lies in the fact that, with a sense of success that follows some limited gain, both community and schools can again become complacent. This period in the history of the educational system requires some of the spirit, imagination, creativity and pioneering which were attributes of the sponsors of public schools in Boston in earlier years.

TABLE I[1]

CHARACTERISTICS OF BOSTON ELEMENTARY AND JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS THAT ARE ESTIMATED TO BE OVER 50 PER CENT NEGRO

Elementary* Schools	Age in Years	Recommended Abandonment
Brooks	60	
Q. Dickerman	45	
Dearborn	39 & 54	
Aaron Davis	81	Yes
Al. Palmer	65	
Dillaway	78	
N. Hale	51	
Abby May	67	Yes
Dudley	86	
Wm. Bacon	63	
Dwight	103	Yes
Bates	76	Yes
L.M. Alcott	115	Yes
S. Greenwood	41	
Higginson	38	
Ellis	28 & 0	
Boardman	60	
Hyde	71 & 44	Yes
Everett	92	
Howe	92 & 37	
S. Baker	55.	
Perkins	69	
Sherwin	90	Yes
Asa Gray	83	Yes.
Garrison	50	
Williams	68	
Junior High Schools		
Cambell	31	
Lewis	48 & 32	
Timilty	23	

*The average of elementary schools for the city as a whole is 50 years.

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[1] This table is drawn from data presented by the Center for Field Studies of the Harvard Graduate School of Education, April 1953.

TABLE II

BOSTON ELEMENTARY AND JUNIOR HIGH PUBLIC SCHOOLS ESTIMATED TO BE LARGELY NEGRO*

DISTRICT AND SCHOOL 15 Schools, 90% or More Negro	TOTAL ENROLLMENT in 1959 - 60
Phillips Brooks	1,024
Phillips Brooks	
Quincy Dickerman	
Dwight	240 ?
Louisa M. Alcott	
Higginson	1,254
Higginson	
Ellis	
Boardman	
Hyde-Everett	692
Hyde	
Everett	
Julia W. Howe	1,526
Julia W. Howe	
Sarah Baker	
Sherwin	773
Sherwin	
Asa Gray	
Wm. L. Garrison	1.036
Garrison	
Williams	
Lewis Junior High	542
TOTAL	7,087

DISTRICT AND SCHOOL 14 Schools, 50-85% Negro	TOTAL ENROLLMENT in 1959 - 60
Dearborn	1,096
Dearborn	
Aaron Davis	
Dillaway	1,012
Dillaway	
Nathan Hale	
Abby May	
Dudley	931
Dudley	
Wm. Bacon	
Dwight	450 ?
Dwight	
Bates	
Wm. Endicott	810 ?
Sarah Greenwood	
Prince	310
Perkins	
Campbell Junior High	871
Timilty Junior High	670
TOTAL	6,150

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*This table is adapted from Nancy H. St. John, "Negro Children in Our Northern Schools", a paper presented in Professor Gordon Allport's Seminar in Group Conflict and Prejudice, Harvard University, May, 1960. This list of schools was made on the basis of the estimates of parents, teachers and social workers and on the basis of a visual count at several schools. It must be emphasized that these are only "informed guesses" and may easily not be completely accurate.

HEALTH CONDITIONS

Boston is recognized around the world as one of the leading medical centers for training, for quality of service and for research. One would therefore expect to find hospitals in a significant position to influence the health care of the citizens of Boston. Other health institutions and facilities -- local and state-wide, public and private -- are essential parts of the resources available for the diagnosis and treatment of illness and the prevention of disease. It will be important to see the relationship of these resources to the health problems of Negro citizens of the community.

The data for this report were obtained from persons in public and private health agencies, hospitals, private physicians and from published sources. The facts and interpretations which are pertinent to an understanding of health conditions among Negroes in Boston may be summarized as follows:

1. With a large percentage of the immigration to Boston coming from Southern communities, not primarily metropolitan, it is safe to assume that health standards and facilities for diagnosis and treatment of major illnesses were at a minimum in the communities from which they come.

2. Lower income families and recent arrivals from the rural South, together constituting a substantial proportion of the Negro population, are not attuned by experience to good medical care for the treatment of illness and the maintenance of health on a continuous basis. It is common to wait almost for the moment of delivery of a baby before obtaining medical attention; to go to the dentist when

extraction is the only treatment possible; to seek medical assistance only in extreme pain. Without experience in health care, it cannot be expected that many of these people will take the initiative in utilizing well-baby and pre-natal clinics, post-partum care, X-rays, advice on child care and nutrition, and other resources for health maintenance.

3. Health conditions among Negroes can only be understood in the context of their living and working conditions -- their incomes and their housing, in short, the environment that surrounds them and shapes every aspect of their lives. Table V (and the statistical data in the report on the Roxbury-North Dorchester district in this series of papers) give evidence of the close association between substandard housing and substandard health. Columbus Avenue and Massachusetts Avenue are today lined with rooming houses and two- or three-room flats where toilet facilities are at a minimum.

Columbus Avenue, Massachusetts Avenue and Lower Roxbury, as indicated in these statistics, are neighborhoods where both tuberculosis and infant mortality are serious public health issues. In the comparisons of 64 Boston neighborhoods, prepared by UCS, with respect to social and health characteristics, not one of the predominantly Negro neighborhoods is among the top ten "healthy" areas in the city. Disease is a constant companion in the present living arrangements and among people with uncertain and limited incomes who have little resources for medical care or insurance.

The figures for two major health problems, tuberculosis and infant mortality, dramatize the pattern of poor health among Negroes in Boston. The death rate in 1959 for tuberculosis among Negroes was

27.6 and among whites was 11.1. The infant mortality rate for the period 1955-59 in the neighborhood with the highest percentage of Negro residents was 36.9; the rate was 12.5 in the neighborhood with the highest percentage of white population. This pattern is further borne out by Tables I through IV below.

Examination of the major resources which Negroes use indicates that Boston City Hospital, Massachusetts Memorial Hospital and the Boston Dispensary are significant institutions to persons living in the South End and Lower Roxbury. These hospitals have had intimate contact with large numbers of Negroes in the emergency wards and through the home care training programs for medical students. These resources serve substantial numbers of people new to the city.

Training programs for the doctors on home care service orient them to community problems and to the social and cultural characteristics of the population. It would be equally important to know the extent to which training of this nature is given to staffs in clinics and wards within the hospital services. Further, since hospitals are used by large numbers of people from Lower Roxbury and South End, it would be valuable to understand the major concerns of these hospitals and their philosophy of service as it is extended into the community.

The Boston Tuberculosis Association and the Public Health Unit are two additional resources in the South End which have provided service to this community over many years. The public health resources of the State and City and the hospitals are developing continuous programs to detect, screen, and treat the tubercular individual. Observations from the joint program to detect alcoholic, tubercular, homeless males reveal that in recent years there seems to be an increase in the number of Negroes in this group.

The Tuberculosis Association has conducted strenuous efforts in community education on the need for examination and treatment of tuberculosis. There is now a strong feeling that new and different approaches are called for in case finding. With the use of chemotherapy, tuberculosis need not be destructive. Attempts to have residents campaign for use of the South End Mobile X-ray Unit have not proved to be highly successful. The residents who have been asked to go out in the community on this campaign are the stable family people who draw a line in trying to reach transient residents whose behavior is often unacceptable to them. Faced with masses of individuals who do not readily respond to X-ray preventive procedures, hospital admission offices have arranged for routine chest examinations. This new approach is under way in cooperation with the Boston Tuberculosis Association.

A strong feeling was expressed among those interviewed that the statistics, nationally and locally, on venereal disease are misleading. There was recognition that a problem exists, but that the figures might suggest these diseases were prevalent almost exclusively among Negroes. The informants accounted for the discrepancy as due to the fact that Negroes use public facilities and clinics for treatment because of lower incomes. These facilities are obligated to report figures accurately.

The Visiting Nurses' Association is another significant health organization. Many of the problems already discussed concerning attitudes and practices in child care are known to this service. In general, a high proportion of residents of the South End and much of Lower Roxbury use public health facilities or hospitals. Middle income Negroes tend to use private resources.

Especially is it valuable to consider the use and role of the private physicians. No information was available on the number of white doctors who have many Negro patients, but there was an impression that there were many. This is borne out by the fact that in Upper Roxbury, Jewish pharmacists and physicians have retained their offices, even though large numbers of their own group had moved to suburbia.

According to the most reliable information, there are twelve Negro physicians in Boston. Nine are in general practice with a predominantly Negro clientele; there is no pediatrician among them. Three are psychiatrists who have appointments with universities and hospitals. There are eight dentists. Prior to World War II the one outstanding Negro in medicine in Boston, Dr. William Hinton, was associated with Harvard Medical School. There were no Negroes serving on the permenent staffs of private hospitals as physicians or as nurses. The core of Negro physicians was small and had organized, among other reasons, to open staff opportunities in hospitals.

The Negro doctor still plays an influential role in the lives of many individuals and families. It was not possible to ascertain from each of the nine general practitioners his exact patient load.[1] However, a conservative estimate of the average number of patients would be 2,000 or more per year.[1] One doctor estimated he has acquired ten new patients a month for the last two years. It has been observed that these men reach many of the newcomers to the community. As a consequence the doctor becomes a strategic member of the community; he is available to give and receive information and is frequently used as a counselor by his patients.

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[1] At least one of these doctors has an almost exclusively white clientele

Some of these doctors make referrals to Family Service, adoptive and foster care agencies, hospitals for unwed mothers, Visiting Nurses' Association, legal and real estate assistance, etc. Recently doctors have been confronted with a variety of social problems such as adolescent pregnancies, forms of mental illness, illiteracy among well-paid laborers, and the difficulties of newly arrived young Southern women who are domestic workers but may be currently unemployed.

Some of these patients are from Southern rural communities where superstition invests the doctor with magical abilities. Therefore, some of these individuals stand in awe of and respond to his "word" as final. Others would identify him as the person who could help bring them back from death; these people frequently appear for medical help in extreme pain. Some primitive cultures make the same connection between pain and death and in this sense, some Negroes may be similar. A study of beliefs and superstitions concerning medical help and their relation to current practices in urban settings might be rewarding and useful for training and programs of service.

Mobility of the population also affects the doctor. By checking where his house calls were located in 1958, one physician planned the relocation of his office the following year in a more convenient spot.

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[1] This figure includes individuals who would be seen more than once.

Another reported that a large portion of his patients came once and then would reappear in six months. It was difficult with this group to build and maintain a steady relationship with members of the family. In connection with a hospital training assignment in the use of psychiatry for general practitioners, one doctor has begun to include in his practice a small number of neurotic patients in need of supportive therapy. These patients cover a range of economic, educational and social levels.

Since World War II Boston hospitals have offered increasing opportunities for training as physicians, registered nurses, practical nurses, dieticians and all medical specialties. Negroes join with the many thousands who come from everywhere for training. Whether the invitation to join "staff" grew out of a shortage of medical personnel is not verifiable.

Four of the general practitioners have appointments at major hospitals: Boston City, New England Hospital, Beth Israel. One of the four men teaches at Tufts Medical. Recently two of these physicians were asked to join the staff at New England Hospital. One psychiatrist is associated with Harvard Medical School -- M.G.H. and is the consulting psychiatrist for the public school system of Boston. The other psychiatrists are associated with the Veterans Administration and Harvard School of Public Health. The Jewish Memorial Hospital employs large numbers of Negroes throughout its operation. In nearly all hospitals, including Veterans' Administration services, Negroes will be found on permanent staff in varying numbers and levels as social workers, physical therapists, nurses, dieticians, aides, and laboratory technicians. At least three laboratory technicians are in private business.

The Visiting Nurse Association hires Negroes as nurses; one assistant supervisor in one district is a Negro and this has been true of other jobs at different times. The Public Health Department has a core of Negro nurses, one supervisor in the Tuberculosis program in the central office, and two dentists. The School Department of Boston also has had a school nurse on a part-time basis though she is not presently employed. No Negroes are engaged in nursing in private industry. There are only a few Negroes who have pharmacies and training in that field. This has been a brief resume of employment changes that have occurred in the past ten years. These developments represent a good beginning, only.

It is worth noting that the Visiting Nurse Association has a Negro on its board and New England Hospital has one as a trustee. These appointments are unusual in the sense that these individuals are involved at the policy-making level; a step which is frequently not taken by major community agencies. In 1960 a graduate nurse with long service in the Boston Health Department was appointed to the Board of Registration for the State.

In the Upper Roxbury community, which is now tending toward becoming a Negro "ghetto", New England Hospital and Jewish Memorial appear to have made the decision to remain and make their contributions to the community.

The health and medical personnel interviewed for this report were in agreement that the following changes are needed to raise health standards among Negroes in Boston:

1. Better housing.

2. Individual and group counseling on health matters, including education on the use of reliable resources for treatment and less reliance on the corner druggist.

3. Training in housekeeping habits.

4. Better-paying and steady employment.

Several conclusions may be drawn from this material:

1. Hospitals in Roxbury and the South End are making important contributions to health care through diagnosis, treatment and prevention. They provide places of employment and security to numbers of the residents of those areas. They are important pieces in the fabric of the total community development. Therefore, it is of major importance that all levels of the administrative structures of these hospitals become an integral part of the social planning, which is projected for the future.

2. Private physicians are influences of major importance in the lives of their patients and particularly for the newcomer who is frequently isolated from community resources. Therefore a special role for physicians -- without interferring with their practice -- needs to be considered in order to make the fullest use of them for improvement of community welfare.

3. Community health facilities, public and private, need to consider joint approaches to public health and mental health issues in

the community, with respect to predominantly "Negro areas" in order:

(a) To provide coverage of services by locating the facilities as integral parts of the neighborhoods, thereby maximizing their potential use.

(b) To take into account the extent and influence of deprivation of health care to large segments in the community in order to devise the best methods of education in the use of services.

TABLE I

CASES AND CASE RATES, DEATHS AND DEATH RATES FOR T.B. ACCORDING TO RACE - 1959

	New Cases			New Case Rate per 100,000		Deaths		Death Rate per 100,000	
ce	Population	Pulmonary	All Forms	Pulmonary	All Forms	Pulmonary	All Forms	Pulmonary	All Forms
ner ces	2,174	17	17	782.0	782.0	1	1	46.0	46.0
gro	36,235	82	87	226.3	240.1	9	10	24.8	27.6
ite	686,293	427	451	62.2	65.7	70	76	10.2	11.1
tal	724,702	526*	555	72.6	76.6	80	87	11.0	12.0

lus 27 cases reported by state institutions

is table is taken from the Eighty-eighth Annual Report of the Health Department for the
ar 1959, Boston, January, 1960. This, one of the few tables in the report which presents
ta according to race, is an indication of the extent of the tuberculosis problem among
groes.

TABLE II

PULMONARY TB DEATH RATES (1955-59) COMPARED WITH PERCENT OF NEGRO POPULATION IN SELECTED NEIGHBORHOODS

RANK*	NEIGHBORHOOD	RATE	% NEGRO POP.
58	Columbus & Mass. Aves.	78.1	76.1
56	Lower Roxbury	56.5	81.8
49	Dudley St. South	26.6	47.2
32	Warren Street	12.8	69.8
46	Grove Hall West	21.2	74.2
34	Grove Hall East	14.1	49.9

*64 neighborhoods in Boston are ranked for these factors in a compilation of 1960 census data published by the Research Division of United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston, April, 1961. The information in Tables III, IV and V is from the same source.

TABLE III

PULMONARY TUBERCULOSIS NEW CASE RATES, 1955-59

RANK	NEIGHBORHOOD	RATE	% NEGRO POP.
60	Columbus & Mass. Aves.	351.6	76.1
57	Lower Roxbury	209.6	81.8
47	Dudley St. South	100.0	47.2
53	Warren Street	141.4	69.8
45	Grove Hall West	92.7	74.2
41	Grove Hall East	75.8	49.9

TABLE IV

INFANT MORTALITY RATES, 1955-59

RANK	NEIGHBORHOODS	RATE	% NEGRO POP.
60	Columbus & Mass. Aves.	48.9	76.1
56	Lower Roxbury	36.9	81.8
55	Dudley St. South	36.5	47.2
46	Warren St.	30.5	69.8
40.5	Grove Hall West	27.8	74.2
53	Grove Hall East	36.2	49.9

TABLE V

PERCENT OF NON-WHITE HOUSING UNITS WHICH ARE "SOUND WITH ALL PLUMBING FACILITIES"

RANK	1960 NEIGHBORHOODS	PER CENT	% NEGRO POP.
5	Columbus & Mass. Aves.	18.7	76.1
8	Lower Roxbury	37.6	81.8
10	Dudley Street South	31.8	47.2
13	Warren Street	47.0	69.8
28	Grove Hall West	69.7	74.2
15	Grove Hall East	44.0	49.9

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

It has not been possible to include in these reports a comprehensive study of recreation. However, a few observations can be made. A number of studies concur that there is a lack of recreational facilities, equipment and trained personnel in Roxbury and the South End.[1] However, the city has appropriated funds for extensive remodeling of two playgrounds, one in Franklin Park and the other in the South End.[2] Four years ago through the concerted efforts of adults and youth working through local organizations the Marcella playground was completely refurbished.

Agencies under voluntary auspices are limited by funds and by the capacity of their facilities and are not able to reach large numbers of youngsters. The interests of 163 youngsters, most of them Negro youth from Upper Roxbury, in a wide range of athletic, cultural and recreational activities were surveyed recently by the YMCA.

In view of the widespread enthusiasm for swimming, it should be noted that there are no pools in Roxbury[3] and the South End. Youngsters of all ages make their way to near-by beaches at City Point, Revere the wading pool on Boston Common and the Charles Street pool. Only at the Charles Street pool has there been a problem of tension as a result of the mixture of children from all parts of Boston. Three years ago the NAACP was called in to consider the racial tensions there. Recommendations were made and adopted for the employment of Negro personnel as lifeguards and instructors at the pool and for a change in the way MDC police were using their authority. Tension and friction have lessened at the Charles Street pool and it is no longer considered a problem.

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[1] Progress Report of Facilities Advisory Committee, YMCA, February, 1961 (unpublished); Survey of Indoor Recreation in Upper Roxbury, Recreation Committee of the Roxbury Community Council, May, 1959; various reports of the RIG Division, United Community Services of Metropolitan Boston.

[2] These two playgrounds were completed and in use the Summer of 1961.

[3] Cabot St. bathhouse--a public facility, is the exception in Lower Roxbury.

A number of agencies and churches are concerned with delinquency. Detached group workers have been provided by the State Youth Board, by settlements and by churches. These efforts resulted largely from the demonstration work of the Special Youth Program in Roxbury. The St. Mark Social Center has proposed a comprehensive program outlined in a report issued during the summer of 1961 and entitled "Focus". The staff stresses the necessity of relating the work with individual delinquents, with gangs, with unwed mothers, newcomer families and "delinquent" parents in a total community approach rather than a piecemeal one.

The need for projecting this kind of program even further than Upper Roxbury has been indicated over the past ten years. Such efforts would need sound financing to do the intensive job that is required. In the opinion of the writer, this scheme should include an expansion of the service component of the Chronic Problem Family Study Project in Roxbury in which public and private family casework agencies are cooperating. The role of mental health consultation, diagnosis and treatment facilities based in the community which all community resources could depend on is further indicated.

In order to see the implementation of a comprehensive plan for this and other purposes it is imperative to strengthen the district-wide professional and citizens' organizations that have been concerned with these issues. Again, sound financing for intensive and comprehensive planning and programming are indicated in order to have an impact on a problem of the size and scope of delinquency among Negro youth in the unstable communities in which they live.

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Throughout these reports on the Negro Church, Education, and Health Conditions certain common threads and emphases have been implicit in the interpretations that have been presented. These emphases ought now to be summarized.

The writer has pointed out the complexities of urban life and its problems of great magnitude. The unique features of present conditions of Negroes only increase those problems and make them more difficult to resolve. Any valid assessment of community services requires sensitivity to and understanding of dynamic changes taking place in the Negro community.

Stress has been placed on the concept of interdependence between the Negro community and the larger community of which it is a part. Basic solutions to problems affecting the Negro need to be seen in the context of the total community problem, along with the special features pertinent to the Negro. Moreover, simple and isolated solutions are not feasible and cannot be implemented by any one institution. Piecemeal approaches to these problems, especially by those with vested institutional interests, belong to the nineteenth century.

Significant "pockets" of strength exist throughout the Negro community. The people who comprise these strong-points have clearly identified significant areas of social concern. Their efforts are expressed through a variety of channels. These efforts may seem insignificant to decision-makers in the power structure of Boston. However, it is urgent that these efforts be recognized and strengthened with the assistance of all influential power in the city. Their fullest contributions may then be utilized , particularly during the physical and social renewal processes.

Conflict of opinion within the Negro community and the pursuit of different courses of action on particular problems must be seen as a natural phenomenon common to all groups. This is not a special peculiarity of Negro groups and should not be treated as such. The economic, social class and intellectual composition of the Negro group is as varied as other groups. Implementation of plans with respect to any of the social concerns requires involvement of all elements within the group and the community.

In order for this orientation to have real meaning and lasting effectiveness, these concerns make imperative an integrated professional approach to community problems. Above all, these concerns must be dealt with at their roots and not on the surface.